

MEMOIRS
FOR THE
HISTORY
OF
Madame de MAINTENON,
AND OF THE
LAST AGE.

Bonam facile crederes, magnam libenter.

TAC.

Translated from the FRENCH,
BY THE
Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, and J. NOURSE, in the
Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall;
L. DAVIS and C. REYMER, in Holbourn.

MDCCLVII.

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MDCCLXXV.

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AND OF THE

LAST AGE.



BOOK ELEVENTH.

CHAPTER V.

The progress of madame Guion.



HE progress made by these devout contemplatists, alarmed many of the ecclesiasticks. In Paris, where every thing is regulated by the fashion, and even religion not excepted, all conversation was now held in the unintelligible jargon of the

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Myſticks,

Myfticks, fo convenient for thofe who have no certain ideas of their own. Tre-ville, formerly a celebrated libertine, but then a Myftick, drew up an abſtract of the doctrine taught by the fathers. The abbé Duguet was ſecretly inclined to this ſect *. Corbinelli, who from a Philoſopher became an Atheiſt, from an Atheiſt a Chriſtian, and from a Chriſtian a Quietiſt, preſided at the houſe of Madame le Maigre, where the wits among the Myfticks met, to make a romance of religion †. Some of the ladies of St. Cyr diſcovered to madame de Maintenon, that, in the diſcourſes of madame Guion, they found ſomething which inſenſibly led them towards God. Madame de Maintenon, without examining any further, and perhaps deceived by the fervour of her devotion, which bordered too near upon ſpirituality, permitted them to be directed by her.

Whenever madame Guion went to St. Cyr, ſhe was liſtened to as an oracle, and attended home again like a ſaint : the ladies of St. Cyr, who were not pious before, heard her affecting rhapsodies, and became ſo ; and thoſe who had been always devout, increaſed every day in fervour.

* Madame de Coulange's Letters.

† Madame de Sevigny's Letters.

It is not surprising, that she should find disciples among so many tender and flexible imaginations, ready to admit every sentiment of piety. With women, domestick employments, the cabals of the court, and the minute practices of religion, fill up alike the same vacuity.

Madame Guion was for four years particularly distinguished by madame de Maintenon, who often invited her to her table; and made use of her insinuating eloquence, to inspire some young ladies with a taste for piety, whose examples might have an influence upon the rest of the court.

Three times a week they had assemblies at the Hôtels de Chevreuse and Beauvilliers, where they had contrived little apartments for that purpose. There, after a slight repast, to which no domestick was admitted, they entered into conferences upon spiritual matters; and settled many affairs which tended to advance the reign of God. The abbé Fenelon presided at these holy mysteries. The courtiers murmured at these meetings, the secret of which they were not able to discover; but the king was convinced, that wherever madame de Maintenon was, there could be no conspiracy but against the corruption of the world.

It will doubtless be thought surprising, that madame de Maintenon, whose judgment appeared so solid, should be seduced by a woman who pretended to revelations, extasies, and miracles; *whom inward grace so overpowered, that she was obliged to have her laces cut, lest she should be stifled; who when in prayer scarce able to breathe, thro' the superabundance of grace, communicated it in silence to those about her.*

But madame de Maintenon carried her views higher: she passed over the exterior, and considered the principles, which were really admirable. To love God solely for himself; to sacrifice to him one's understanding, will, and happiness; to consent, like Moses, to be erased from the Book of Life, that the Eternal may be glorified; to listen in silence to that inward voice which speaks to, and invites us; to lose one's self in the contemplation of the most amiable of all Beings: nothing surely could be better calculated for the seduction of a truly Christian soul.

Her imprisonment in the convent of St. Mary, had cured madame Guion of her most ridiculous absurdities. The abbé Fenelon had allowed her to retain her incomprehensible stile, her extasies, her pious reveries, and *the overflowings of grace, which, like an opened sluice, discharged itself with the*
utmost

utmost precipitation; but he had suppressed the prophecies; he had improved her understanding; and she no longer affected to utter doctrines of an extraordinary nature, with which she had before alarmed so many persons who hated and opposed all novelties in religion; and whose minds were still filled with the recent condemnation of the unfortunate Molinos.

At length the continual presence of Madame de Maintenon abated the fervor of her imagination; and madame Guion, unperceived by herself, grew lukewarm in her devotion, through respect for her protectress. It is therefore still more surprising, that madame de Maintenon should have made use of this woman in her views of reforming the court; that she should have succeeded, and have had influence enough to preserve her from ridicule and contempt.

CHAPTER VI.

Godet des Marais.

THE abbé Gobelin was, by his infirmities, become almost useless to St. Cyr; and by his servility unnecessary to madame de Maintenon. Dazzled with

an elevation, which ought not to have surprised him who had been a witness to the progress of it, he so greatly perplexed madame de Maintenon, by the constraint he laid on himself, and displeased her so much by the reverence and respect he thought due to the rank she filled, that she now consulted him but seldom. He was so affected with that greatness, which madame de Maintenon endeavoured to conceal from him, that, in the simplicity of his heart, he once said to a friend, ‘Do you not know her power is so great, that she may have our heads struck off, if the whim should take her?’

Madame de Maintenon had for some time addressed herself to father Bourdaloue, who would grant her only two visits a year, on account of his great application to preaching. The Jesuits would have been better pleased, if she had not admitted his excuse; but she revered the talents of this great man, and respected his scruples; she durst not deprive the church of his labours, and thought his time would be better employed in converting millions of souls, than in taking care of one; and she willingly sacrificed her inclinations and her interest to the publick good. It is also not improbable, that she was afraid of raising the jealousy of father de la Chaise, by giving

ing him a colleague so greatly superior to himself.

She knew many ecclesiasticks, but would not venture to chuse a confessor amongst them; she trembled lest she should fall into the hands of a Jansenist, or any one who had more ambition than piety; she wanted an ecclesiastick who would confine all his cares to her and St. Cyr; she consulted Tiberge and Brisacier, in whom she had a confidence, which they merited by their candor and piety; and which they did not preserve by adulation. These gentlemen, instead of turning to their own advantage the overtures made by madame de Maintenon, proposed monsieur des Marais and monsieur de Fenelon; both pleased her, Fenelon by his gentleness, des Marais by his austerity.

Observing that they were intimate friends, she resolved to put herself under the care of both, till a more perfect knowledge of their characters had determined her choice; she placed them in the number of those ministers who had the care of St. Cyr; she put their capacity and their zeal to several trials; and in all affairs, which she confided to them, she discovered in both so much knowledge, candor, and true piety, that she was still perplexed how to chuse between them. The desire of se-

curing her salvation, however painful to be effected : the great need she had of an austere, vigilant, and inflexible man, who might always recal her to her duty, in a place where every thing has a tendency to make it be forgot, inclined her powerfully towards des Marais : the affecting piety, the pleasing enthusiasm, the elegant manners, the brilliant wit of Fenelon, drew her towards him.

Still attached to the world, she was afraid the former would be too severe, and make too few allowances for the little weaknesses connected with her situation ; and that the second, in theory, so wholly disengaged from the world, would make use of his wit, to smooth the road to heaven for her, and perhaps to govern her. The person and behaviour of des Marais were disgusting ; Fenelon had too many graces of figure, too many charms in his conversation. In this uncertainty she still made use of both, and ballanced one by the other.

The abbé des Marais was very willing to direct St. Cyr ; but he had a much higher idea of this convent than of her who had founded it. Madame de Maintenon was greatly suspected by him ; he thought her the king's mistress, or at least, that she had formerly been so. When Tiberge and
Brisacier

Brisacier proposed to him to be her confessor, he was ready to answer like Joseph, *who, I? far be this sin from me.*

They undeceived him, yet he would not yield; he was afraid of breathing the contagious air of Versailles: madame de Maintenon he thought was a woman attached to the world, who only desired a director, for the appearance of devotion: he refused to waste his time in suffering the inequalities of temper, the capricious whims, and perhaps the treachery of a woman of the court. His superiours, who knew her better, commanded him to accept the charge of her conscience. Fenelon, more conversant with the world than Marais, well knew what the conduct of madame de Maintenon had been, and what was her present situation.

The abbé des Marais was soon undeceived. In madame de Maintenon he saw a woman divested of all pride, modest, humble, ready to receive instruction, filled with earnest desires to love God, and afraid of offending him. He performed the duties of his function with all the ardour of a zeal incapable of temporising; and the abbé Fenelon acquitted himself of his, with all the insinuating softness, and affectionate piety of a Quietist, and a wit.

May 7.
1691.

The abbé Gobelin died : madame de Maintenon was sincerely afflicted ; his place was filled by Marais, and by Fenelon, who together directed that conscience, which, regulating all others, was, if the expression may be allowed, the publick conscience.

An order, accustomed to power, and which well knows how to use it, murmured, it was said, at this preference ; and that father Bourdaloue replied to Madame de Maintenon, who was assuring him of her esteem, ‘ Madame, have less friendship for me, and more for the society to which I belong.’ They added, that the Jesuits published at Lyons an edition of Scaron’s works, in which they inserted an epigram injurious to the reputation of his widow. It was an indecent rhyme, which produced a very indifferent jest.

The Jansenists liked neither of the directors ; and the Jesuits began to despair of inspiring Fenelon with a zeal such as their own. His principles indeed were the same as theirs, but he was too mild to oppress others for not thinking like himself. Such is the fate of those men, who though perhaps sufficiently steady in their opinions, are too moderate in their dispositions : they are almost as much hated by

by their own party, as by the one they oppose.

The see of Chartres becoming vacant, by the death of monsieur de Villeroi, madame de Maintenon was overjoyed that she had an opportunity of giving to this diocese a man, who, by its contiguity to Versailles, might still continue her confessor. The consideration of her own interest, and that of St. Cyr, which could not have a better director than one who knew it so well, made her break through the law she had imposed on herself, never to ask the king for a bishoprick; and she proposed the abbé des Marais for that of Chartres.

The person who went to carry him the news of his promotion, found him on his knees before a crucifix, in a little room in which there was no other furniture than one chair and one table; and for hangings a map of the Holy Land. The abbé burst into tears; and refused to load himself with so heavy a burden, and could only be brought to accept of it by the intreaties of madame de Maintenon, and the authority of his superiors.

His conduct, in this high place, proved his tears and his denials to be sincere; and that he had a right to *desire as a good work*, what his humility had rejected as a dignity. He

laboured incessantly at St. Cyr, and against madame Guion; against Fenelon her friend; against declared Jansenists, and base impostors, who signed the formulary, and despised it at the same time; against those who abjured Jansenius, and defended him in Quênél. The king offered him afterwards a cardinal's hat, and the post of counsellor of state to the church. Des Marais refused all: he was neither fit for the falsehoods of the conclave, nor the pomp of the purple. 'He has,' said madame de Maintenon, 'as little of the cardinal in him as the bishop.'

CHAPTER VII.

The first reports concerning Quietism.

MEAN time, they were more fervent than ever in those religious meetings, which were held with great secrecy; and wherein Fenelon, after having dined with madame de Maintenon, pronounced a regular exhortation. The priests, either through jealousy or hatred, or that they were alarmed at the progress of Quietism, although no person had as yet preached that doctrine, took umbrage at assemblies to which they were not admitted. Sometimes madame Guion preached there: she used to require her hearers to give her an

an account of their most secret thoughts. The dutchess de Guiche happening to burst into a laugh, at a very pathetick part of her sermon, madame Guion insisted upon her declaring aloud the cause of her inattention. The dutchess, after some little endeavours to get off, said, ‘ Since you will know, I thought, at that moment, that you was a fool, and we your hearers not much wiser.’

The archbishop of Paris, who resolved to ruin Fenelon, caused a case of conscience to be put to the Sorbonne. The question was, whether a prince ought to suffer a man, who was suspected of Quietism, to be preceptor to his children? Monsieur Bossuet prevented the problem from being solved. Fenelon was now his friend; he had formerly been his parasite; at table, in the walks, in the circles, he offered the grossest incense to the haughty prelate. The bishop often blushed; the abbé praised his modesty: ‘ What a poisoner is this?’ whispered la Bruyere*.

Marais was intreated to represent to madame de Maintenon, that, madame Guion threw St. Cyr into disorder; that she introduced a particular method there; and that the novices had more deference

* Account of Quietism, by the abbé Phélippeaux.

for the decisions of a woman, than for the orders of a bishop.

These complaints were partly true ; madame Guion's writings were eagerly read at St. Cyr, and madame du Perou, then mistress of the novices, was almost the only one who had not a taste for the new spirituality ; her pupils no longer obeyed her ; they had extacies, illuminations. So ardent, and so inconvenient was their fondness for prayer, that every other duty was neglected. One, instead of sweeping the apartment, would rest supinely on her broom, lost in divine contemplation. Another, instead of instructing the young ladies, became inspired, and resigned herself up to the operation of the spirit. The under-mistress of the classes, stole away the enlightened from the rest, and led them into some private corner of the house, where they nourished themselves with the doctrine of madame Guion. Under pretence of aiming at perfection, they neglected the general rules which lead to it.

The bishop of Chartres, alarmed at the danger, made a visit to St. Cyr. He had a private conference with each of the ladies, and convinced them all that they were in error. Madame de la Maissonfort was the only one who rebelled against him ;

him; she found fault with some new regulations, and despised confessors. The bishop of Chartres required the community to deliver to him all madame Guion's books, whether in print or manuscript. Madame de Maintenon, who had doubtless concerted with him before this act of obedience, immediately took out of her pocket, a book of madame Guion's entitled *The Short Way*: her example was followed by all the ladies, although with apparent regret.

Fenelon, who was confessor to madame de la Maison-fort, was apprehensive, that the indignation of the superiour and foundress, at the obstinacy of his penitent, would at length fall upon the head of the director, prevailed upon her to submit to her bishop; and made her resolve to take the solemn vows, for which she had shown so great an aversion. Madame Guion was intreated to forbear her visits to St. Cyr. Madame de Maintenon managed this affair with the greatest secrecy, for fear of alarming the king, who was extremely attentive to every thing that concerned this new establishment. All therefore was calm in appearance.

But, if the confessors of the community had murmured at madame Guion's visits, the ladies murmured no less at her absence:

sence : there was a necessity for allowing them to correspond with madame Guion, who wrote them very edifying letters, which all passed through the hands of madame de Maintenon, whose vigilance did not disdain the minutest cares. A copy of *The Short Way*, and another of *The Torrents*, had escaped the bishop's search : great numbers were multiplied from these. The community read these books at night, in the day they practised them ; and madame Guion reigned at St. Cyr with more authority than the superiour of it.

However, the censures of her enemies increased every day. Unhappily the affair began to be debated warmly in the schools ; and, as if a dispute upon love must necessarily destroy friendship, Nicole and father Lami, intimately connected before, wrote against each other with all the malignity of enemies ; as did afterwards Bossuet and Fenelon, who ceased to love each other, as soon as they discovered that they loved God in a different manner.

1684. Madame de Maintenon consulted separately monsieur de Châlons, father Bourdaloue, Tiberge, Brisacier, Jolly, and Tronçon, who all united to condemn, in writing, *The Short Way* of madame Guion. Madame de Maintenon, always submissive to the voice of the pastors, uncertain what might

might be the consequences of those calumnies that were spread against madame Guion, persuaded her to lay the storm, by a voluntary retreat.

Madame Guion retired, without regret, from a world which was not made for her, into a solitude unknown to all men, except Fouquet count de Vaux * her son-in-law, the duke de Chevreuse her friend; and Fenelon her son in Jesus Christ. She now thought herself secure against injustice and oppression; but the theologicians had entered into her affairs.

They accused her of spreading from her retreat the poison of Quietism. The confessors now talked of crimes which they accused her of committing, in consequence of her principles. They intercepted letters to her, in which her votaries told her, *that they were delivered up to all the furies, ever since they had been deprived of the reverend father Alleaume.*

These disorders, exaggerated with eager rage, were attributed to madame Guion, although they were in reality owing to certain monks, who, to seduce their penitents, explained physically these words of the Mysticks, which seem to make a being

* Son of the last surperintendant of the finances, and father of the marshal duke de Belle-Isle.

of man different from man itself: *Provided that the superiour part belong to God, the soul cannot be sullied by the impurities of the inferiour part.*

It was now publickly said, that madame Guion should be confined; and that she corrupted all whom she approached. Her answer was, 'Those whom I have corrupted, thou knowest, oh my God, are full of love for thee.' 'When the women,' adds she, 'whom I have given to God loved the elegancies of dress, were affected, vain, ostentatious, covered their cheeks with paint, and ruined their families, by their excessive pride and love of gaming; they were silent. All this they have now quitted; yet they cry, I have corrupted them. Ah, if I had made them quit piety for vice, what could they have said worse!'

The Jansenists had attempted to gain over madame Guion to their party; they were desirous of persuading the publick, that they were persecuted, because they loved the Lord too much. All the Mysticks, all weak minds, and tender hearts, were on their side; and probably they would have defended saint Theresa still better than Jansenius, whom they pretended to abandon; but madame Guion liked no notions but such as were her own; and
even

even those she submitted to the judgment of the church.

Madame de Maintenon had not yet abandoned madame Guion; not that Fénélon's favourable opinion of her ballanced in her mind those of so many great divines, who had condemned her, but because she made a great difference between the heresy which appeared to her to be justly censurable, and the person of the heretick, who seemed to merit compassion. However, to suppress these reports, which were industriously propagated, of her designing to be at the head of a kind of sect, which, at court, was called the *Rigorists*, she absolutely forbid madame Guion all correspondence with St. Cyr, and desired the bishop and the superior of that house to suppress there all the writings of that lady.

The bishop of Chartres thought Fénélon's writings as dangerous as those of madame Guion. Madame de la Maison-fort would not deliver them; madame de Maintenon obtained by persuasion what the bishop could not force by authority. One of the nuns gave the bishop a bound manuscript, and intreated him to read some loose pages which were put into it. The prelate read them; and found things there which made madame de Maintenon tremble.

How-

However, instead of depriving madame Guion of the protection of Beauvilliers, Colbert, and Chevreuse, she joined herself to them, to guard her from the unjust severity which her enemies were preparing for her, from a prince too much occupied, not to be sometimes deceived.

They drew up an apologetick memorial, which madame de Maintenon promised to support with her interest; but madame Guion disdained all justification, thanked her protectors, intreated them to withdraw the memorial which was already given, and threw herself into the arms of *Love*. Her friends now took a resolution to be silent: a resolution so necessary at court; they admired, they pitied her, and suffered her to be oppressed.

Des Marais, who had been always an irreconcilable enemy to the Jansenists, prosecuted them rigorously in his diocese, where he tore up the last roots of the condemned doctrine. The Jansenists endeavoured to find him other employment, being convinced that his zeal, when once inflamed by other doctrines, would suffer them to breathe a few moments. They alarmed him with the new heresy spread by madame Guion; and succeeded so well in their design, that the bishop was now wholly employed in opposing, decrying, and

and subjecting madame Guion : a useful diversion to the party, especially by the defeat of the Jesuits.

Des Marais renewed his complaints against madame Guion, to madame de Maintenon. Fenelon endeavoured to remove her scruples. This opposition of opinions in two men, for whom she had an equal deference, threw her into a profound sadness. She ballanced between the bishop, whose austere piety dragged her towards him ; and the abbé, whose gentle persuasion enslaved her. At length, the zealot won her ; and the archbishop of Paris threatening to renew his prosecution, Marais took advantage of this circumstance, to raise scruples in the mind of madame de Maintenon, who only sought to live in peace, well knowing the king's aversion for all novelties. This prince had never yet heard of the dispute, although it had its rise, before his eyes, in the midst of his court, and divided the capital ; the pulpits rang with it, and it drew the attention of all Europe. He only knew confusedly, that madame Guion had a very singular genius : so easy it is for those who are near kings to stifle the voice of the publick.

CHAPTER VIII.

Commissioners granted to madame Guion.

MADAME de Maintenon still continued her friendship and protection to madame Guion, whose letters, manners, and conversation, removed her scruples concerning her doctrine; or at least obliged her to suspend her judgment. However, madame Guion imagined that she sought to ruin her; for no other reason, but because she had a few years before freed her from oppression. This notion will appear very strange; but it was madame Guion's *.

She demanded that commissioners might be appointed to examine her doctrine and manners; she could obtain them for her doctrine only. Madame de Maintenon believed, that if her principles were once known, all the calumnies that had been spread against her, would fall of themselves.

Aug.
1694.

The commission was appointed; it was formed of the bishop of Meaux, the bishop of Châlons, and monsieur Tronçon, superior of St. Sulpice. Madame Guion was

* Life of madame Guion,

inconsolable when they refused to admit three laicks, whom she was desirous of associating with the three ecclesiasticks.

Her enemies were the bishop of Chartres, whose zeal was excessively alarmed, Hebert rector of Versailles, who had at first approved of her books *, and afterwards exclaimed against them through resentment, that the countess de Guiche and the dutchess de Mortemar had chose another confessor. The abbé Boileau, who had been gained by sister Rose, a young woman who joined all the extravagance of a devotee, to all the Libertinism of a prostitute. Fléchier, who only sought a dispute, to increase his reputation; and who disputed with the greatest number, that he might have a better bishoprick. The bishop of Meaux, who had long considered *pure love* as a chimera; and lately, Fenelon, as his rival. The abbé de Rancé, who prohibited all studies, and engaged in every dispute, who exclaimed against Quietism, and established a rule the most likely to propagate it; in a word, all the ecclesiasticks of Paris, whom gratitude or interest attached to the archbishop. ‘How,’ cried madame Guion, ‘shall I be able to defend myself against all these?’ However she had some dependence upon mon-

* Memoirs of madame Guion, Hebert does not mention it in his own,

sieur de Châlon, who was of a mild conciliating temper, and monsieur Tronçon, who, except steadiness, had every virtue.

The bishop of Meaux set out for his diocese, where he examined madame Guion's papers. He was shocked at these presumptuous pretensions to divine grace, offended at the vanity which shewed itself in every page, and enraged at a dream, in which madame Guion was transported by Jesus Christ to a chamber, where there were two beds. 'For whom are these beds,' asked madame Guion. 'One,' replied Jesus Christ, 'is for my mother; and the other 'is for you, my dear wife.'

When the conferences at Issy were begun, the archbishop of Paris complained loudly, that they incroached upon his right, by taking from him the cognizance of a heresy which arose in his diocese; and in revenge precipitated a publick censure upon the writings still under their examination. This act of authority was not well received, 'Is it for him,' said they, 'to judge of ' mystical tenets? Has he ever read a ' book of devotion? Has he prayed enough to God to judge of the efficacy ' of prayer? How should an epicurean ' have a taste for piety? It is not possible to love madame Guion, and the ' dutch-

‘ dutchefs de Lesdiguières at the same
‘ time*.’

Harlai demanded an audience of the king, and told him, that the bishops of Meaux and Châlons held private conferences at Issy. ‘ I know it,’ replied the king. ‘ These meetings,’ said the archbishop, ‘ may conceal a dangerous plot against the government. I know those practices well,’ answered the king. ‘ They are examining the doctrines of madame Guion,’ resumed the archbishop. ‘ These doctrines were propagated in my diocese : it belongs to me to pronounce sentence, and I have done it.’ ‘ Theirs,’ replied the king, ‘ will be still better.’ Bossuet was informed of this conversation by madame de Maintenon. To pacify his metropolitan, and to leave him no pretence for complaint, he went to visit him, applauded the censure he had pronounced, and promised him that at Issy they would condemn the same errors †, and upon the same principles. Churchmen, in their management of holy affairs, act too much in the spirit of the world.

* Paula de Gondy, married March 12. 1675. to Francis-Emmanuel de Créqui, duke of Lesdiguières.

* An account of Quietism, by Phélippeaux.

CHAPTER IX.

The Conferences at Iffy.

Bossuet assumed the direction of these conferences: he held to one fixed point; he maintained it with obstinacy. He took possession of all the papers; he excluded the duke de Chevreuse from the assembly, under pretence that they were examining an ecclesiastical affair, and treated madame Guion not with the charity of a bishop, but the cruelty of a tyrant.

He had not promised madame de Maintenon a formal condemnation, as madame Guion supposed, but he had promised it to the archbishop of Paris, and he had resolved upon it himself. He concealed his design from the abbé Fenelon, who, to make it more difficult to condemn the doctrines of his friend, furnished her with extracts from mystical writings, which were a sufficient answer to all that her adversaries could object.

Bossuet

Bossuet discovered *the pride of the devil*, where Fenelon only saw the most christian humility. The former suspected all: the latter gave every thing a favourable turn. Bossuet always insolent, when he had gentle spirits to deal with, and meanly submissive with haughty opposers, had fair play for his malignity with Fenelon and his friend. Madame Guion was not able to answer a man, who tyrannized over his associates, who spoke with great warmth, who was ever ready to interrupt, yet could not bear to be interrupted, who embarrassed her, understood her not, yet protested that he understood her perfectly well, and was always endeavouring to silence her.

Bossuet informed madame de Maintenon, that madame Guion had relinquished her errors. He had, indeed by the force of importunity, obtained a promise of her, that she would reside some months in the community of the sisters of Saint-Mary of Meaux. The prelate did not confine his triumph to this concession; he expected from it the see of Paris, and the cardinal's purple, each of which he missed, although very worthy of both.

While the conferences continued, Fenelon wrote several letters to Bossuet, full

of mystical principles, and the deepest submission. By these letters, his heart seemed to be divided between disinterested love, and blind faith : he protested that he looked upon him as the faithful depository of the tradition of the church ; and that his conscience was directed by his : in a word, promises of obedience and docility were carried to an excess, which would be scarce excusable in the most unlightened christian ; for it is certain that Bossuet was not a council.

The examination at Issy had produced so few heresies, that a mandate could not be justified ; therefore Bossuet artfully prevailed upon madame Guion to sign a certain paper which he thought would answer his purpose. However, this was not sufficient ; he in vain endeavoured to force her to sign another wherein, by a very remote and unperceived consequence, she was made not to believe in the incarnate word.

The nuns of Meaux, who were witnesses of these violent proceedings, detested the treachery of their bishop, and admired the resolution of their prisoner*.

* Life of madame Guion, written by herself. I do not pretend to answer for the truth of this fact ; I quote my author, and this author is suspected.

Bossuet

Bossuet in vain exclaimed against her obstinacy. Madame Guion replied, 'Is it then a heretick, whom you have admitted to your holy mysteries?' He railed at her defender. Fenelon calmly answered, 'if I have been deceived, I am not the only who was so.'

Mean time Fenelon's favour with madame de Maintenon decreased every day, unperceived by himself. Madame Guion, from the midst of her retreat, guessed it, warned him of it, and was not believed. Madame de Maintenon had asked for the abbey of Saint-Vallery for him, either as a reward for the care he had taken of the duke of Burgundy's education, or to secure to him an asylum against the storm which she seemed to foresee. Fenelon, to escape it, signed the thirty-four articles of Issy, but only through respect to the commissioners; for he would not allow that he was convinced. 'He will be soon a friend to the Jesuits,' said the abbé Beaufort.

The condemnation of madame Guion's writings, which Fenelon had so warmly defended, was not the first cause of that disgust which madame de Maintenon seemed to have to him. The king did not like him; Lewis often entertained unjust aversions, and madame de Maintenon had

no will but his. Fenelon being with her one day in her closet, at the hour that Lewis generally used to visit her, he intreated her to make him known to the king; accordingly madame de Maintenon detained him when he offered to retire. Fenelon talked well, although he talked a great deal; but to shine before Lewis was not the way to please him. He loved wit; but could not endure that ostentatious display of it, so humiliating to those who have it not, and so impatiently suffered by those who have. The king, tired with the fine turned periods of Fenelon, said to madame de Maintenon, as soon as he was gone, 'Your man speaks well, madam, but I own to you freely he will never be mine.'

A second conversation which Fenelon had with the king entirely excluded him from his favour. Always solicitous for the publick good, his imagination was fraught with ideas that tended to secure it. He suffered the king to perceive those austere principles of government, with which he inspired the duke of Burgundy. Lewis, whom nothing had prepared for principles so true, yet so little known, considered them as chimeras; and when Fenelon was gone out of his presence he told some of the courtiers, that he had just been conversing with

with the sprightliest, and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was informed of what the king had said ; he repeated it to his preceptor, who resolved, that for the future he would banish wit, when he was with the king.

By degrees madame de Maintenon became less dazzled with the fine and ever fruitful imagination of her director : perhaps she saw him too often not to be sometimes disgusted with that brilliancy of wit which he took such pains to display. She gave all her confidence to the bishop of Chartres, who conducted her to God with more firmness, and less politeness than the abbé Gobelin, with more wisdom, and less gentleness than Fenelon.

CHAPTER X.

Fenelon made archbishop of Cambray.

THE friends of Fenelon thought him in a dangerous situation ; his favour was declining and his principles were attacked ; they resolved to procure the archbishoprick of Cambray for him ; and the

duke de Beauvilliers was the first who proposed it to the king. Madame de Maintenon supported his request by the advice of Marais, who had too much judgment not to be sensible of the merit of his old friend, and too much greatness of mind to be capable of envying it.

While Fenelon's friends were employed in soliciting the see of Cambray for him, he was suspected of secretly aspiring to that of Paris. He represented to madame de Maintenon, that the diocese of Paris had occasion for a man who would restore strict discipline. He artfully excluded Bossuet by insinuating, that if he was made archbishop of Paris, either the church would suffer by his quitting his studies, or the diocese by his continuing them. He excluded cardinal Jansson by exaggerating the services he was capable of doing the king at Rome. Monsieur de Noailles he assured her was too regular and too fond of ease to consent to be transferred to Paris: he who had refused to succeed a bishop of Cahors, who knew not how to spell his own name *.

The king himself acquainted Fenelon, that he was nominated to the archbishop-

* Account of Quietism, by the abbé Phélippeaux.

rick of Cambray. Fenelon replied, that a dignity which removed him from the duke of Burgundy, he could never consider as a reward. 'It is not my design,' resumed the king, 'to oblige you to a residence; I know too well how necessary you are to my grand-children.' 'The care of the princes education, and the archbishoprick of Cambray,' answered Fenelon, 'are employments incompatible with each other. The council of Trent permits the bishop to be only three months absent upon his own affairs, and three for the affairs of the diocese.' 'The council of Trent,' resumed Lewis, 'did not foresee how necessary you would be to the church and the state, and how well qualified to serve them both.' Fenelon intreated the king to give him some time to consult his friends, before he accepted the honour he offered him.

A few days afterwards the king took him into his closet, and said to him, 'The interests of my kingdom, with the duties of your conscience, may be reconciled. You shall reside in your diocese, and you shall give us the two or three months which the canons allow you every year for your own private affairs.'

Fenelon, when he accepted this dignity, resigned to the king the only abbey he possessed, which was that of Saint-Valery. This act of disinterestedness was by some attributed to a direct order from the king, by others to the necessity he was under of propping a falling reputation: all imputed it to selfish motives, rather than to a principle of justice.

The archbishop of Rheims, who dreaded the consequence of so dangerous an example, said abruptly to Fenelon, 'It is reported, that you will resign your benefice: what madness!' 'If it be madness,' replied Fenelon, 'it is already done.' 'You injure us all by it,' resumed the archbishop, 'what opinion do you wish the king to have of the bishop of Meaux, who has several abbeys; of monsieur de Rheims, who desires more; of so many prelates, who think their bishopricks give them a claim to abbeys; of so many who solicit for them; and many more who are never to be satisfied?' 'I blame no body,' replied Fenelon. 'You mean,' returned the archbishop, 'every one ought to follow the dictates of his conscience: well, my conscience commands me to keep my abbeys *.

* Madame de Coulange's letters. Memoirs of the bishop of Agen.

The bishop of Chartres and the bishop of Meaux disputed for the honour of consecrating Fenelon. Monsieur de Meaux claimed it as being the diocesan bishop. Monsieur de Chartres pleaded the rights of friendship. Marais, at Fenelon's intreaty, resigned the ceremony to Bossuet; but resolved not to be present, since he could not perform it.

Madame de Maintenon desired, that the archbishop of Cambray might be consecrated at Saint-Cyr; and that the three Children of France might be present. Fenelon knew that his principles were suspected: he was apprehensive that his elevation would expose him to envy, and raise him new enemies; that his sentiments concerning a disinterested love of God, and the mercenary hope of reward, were too well liked, and too much followed to be forgiven him. He went to visit Bossuet; he tried every method to soften him, and to recover his friendship. He kneeled, he called him his father, master, friend, and protested that he would never preach any other doctrine but his. Bossuet, overcome by this submission, gave him back all his writings in favour of Quietism. Fenelon intreated him to keep some to serve as testimonies against him, if ever he varied from

the true doctrine. 'No monsieur,' said Bossuet, 'I desire no other security but your word.'

CHAPTER XI.

Fenelon opposed to Bossuet.

THE doctrine of the two prelates was soon found to be very opposite, and occasioned great confusion. The Quietists, who only preached up the tranquillity of the soul and entire self-renunciation, were treated by all as the disturbers of the publick peace.

Madame Guion was employed in defending herself against the accusations of Bossuet; she had only a superficial knowledge of the monkish writers, and therefore intreated Fenelon to furnish her with proper extracts from them. Fenelon undertook this task; but performed it with great caution, lest he should give any wound to the sentiments of the true mysticks, which he thought he understood much better than the bishop of Meaux.

At

At length madame Guion's vindication appeared. In manuscript it had excited Bossuet's compassion; printed, it embarrassed him greatly. Nothing can be stronger than this apology: the author indeed no otherwise proves that her pious dreams are good, than by quoting other dreams of the same kind; but the dreamers she quotes had been canonized, beatified, invoked, or were soon to be so.

Bossuet, who was always inclined towards ecclesiastical tyranny, jealous, perhaps, of his disciple's reputation, and of his own influence and power most certainly tenacious, required Fenelon to condemn the doctrine of his friend, telling him that it would be more honourable for him to decide as a judge, than to be condemned as an accomplice. The writing was drawn up, and shewn to madame de Maintenon, who approved of it. Fenelon proposed modifications, Bossuet made promises: each complained that the other had failed in his part.

The bishop of Meaux was not discouraged by this obstinate resistance; he sent the archbishop of Cambray his pastoral letter upon the books examined at Issy, and required him to sign it. Fenelon,
then.

then preparing to go to his diocese, looked over the margins hastily; the letter appeared to him to be a libel against madame Guion: he was enraged at it; and refused his signature.

This refusal irritated Bossuet. 'What,' said he to the duke de Chevreuse, who came to return him the paper unsigned, 'will he abandon three bishops, to support and defend a woman! The bare suspicion of this would disgrace him at court; what would the certainty do? and to what kind of books is it that he is resolved to be the martyr?' In vain Bossuet exclaimed: Fenelon was obstinate, and the duke de Chevreuse gave him back his pastoral letter.

Compassion, perhaps, had pleaded with Fenelon in behalf of his oppressed friend; perhaps he thought that absolute submission promised by the abbé of Saint-Vallery, was become meanness in the archbishop of Cambray, who had his share also of the infallibility of the church; and it is not impossible but he yielded too easily to the insinuations of vanity, which persuaded him, that in an exalted station humility was meanness.

Bossuet:

Bossuet now turned all his rage upon madame Guion; he exacted a blind submission of her, and obtained only a positive denial. The bishop, who could not dispense with disobedience, had recourse to those acts of authority and violence which had converted more Huguenots than even his preaching had done. Madame Guion, terrified at the prelate's threatening her with a *lettre de cachet*, in order to prove her a heretick, signed all they desired*.

Madame de Maintenon, who had been assured by Marais and Bossuet, that Fenelon would be prevailed upon to sign the pastoral letter, was shocked at his refusal, and expressed her dissatisfaction. Fenelon justified himself; he said, that he had promised to condemn madame Guion's errors, but not her person; that he had performed his promise; that the dignity of his office would not permit him to make a scandalous entry in his diocese, by complying with what the bishop of Meaux had required. 'I have,' said he to madame de Maintenon, 'publicly shewn, that I esteemed madame Guion, and I am now urged to calumniate her. Nothing has been proved against her; and

* Account of Quietism.

‘ I am required to accuse her to the
 ‘ church, as guilty of crimes deserving the
 ‘ flames. I have explained her expref-
 ‘ fions which are obscure, by her senti-
 ‘ ments which I have carefully examined ;
 ‘ and it is expected, that I should con-
 ‘ demn her sentiments, on account of her
 ‘ expreffions. To you, madame I have
 ‘ facrificed my opinion ; I will facrifice
 ‘ my friend to no perfon whatever. I
 ‘ have figned the thirty-four articles of
 ‘ Ifly ; but my name fhall never be feen
 ‘ below a libel.’

Boffuet, now more violently enraged, made madame Guion fuffer for the firm-
 nefs of her friend ; he accused her of dog-
 matizing, after ſhe had promiſed to be
 ſilent, and of remaining concealed at Pa-
 ris, notwithstanding ſhe had declared ſhe
 would go to drink the waters of Bourbon.
 He artfully procured one of thoſe particular
 orders, which a prince, who is well in-
 formed of all affairs, never grants without
 difficulty, and which the boldeſt miniſter
 never counterſigns without fear.

In conſequence of this order, madame
 Guion was arreſted, and carried to the
 houſe of the governour of Vincennes.
 The king could not reſolve to give a more
 rigorous order. Madame de Maintenon, who
 loved

loved the accused devotee, and hated violence, had solicited the king in her favour. Madame Guion was not likely to trouble the state: it is not devout contemplatists who occasion revolutions. It would however have been sufficient to have confined her in a convent; but such moderation did not agree with the scheme that was formed to ruin the archbishop of Cambray; and Lewis was weak enough to order her to be shut up in the tower of Vincennes. This rigour made madame Guion appear more guilty, and Fenelon's principles more doubtful.

Fenelon revenged himself nobly on his enemies, by the virtues he displayed in his diocese. The Flemings, who had never had an archbishop that would deign to preach the word of God to them, were surprised, delighted, edified, to see their new prelate descend every day from his episcopal chair, fatigued with apostolick zeal, teaching children the first elements of religion, leaving to his vicars the easy duties, and reserving the most laborious to himself, keeping an almoner to distribute his revenues among the poor, and not to mutter over mass for him. In a word, to find that he always remembered he was their pastor, and sought to make them forget he was not their countryman*.

* *Memoirs of the bishop of Agen.*

From Cambray, he regulated the princes education with the same authority as he did while he was at Versailles; the progress they made in their studies seemed to render his presence useless, though his conversation was necessary to make those studies delightful to them.

Mean time the bishop of Chartres incessantly employed all his cares to remove from madame de Maintenon whatever had a tincture of Quietism. Her confessors had always been her council; and they, instead of disengaging her from affairs of state, persuaded her to attempt to govern, that they might govern under the shadow of her name, either because they were solicitous to countermine some powerful intrigues, or that they did not think it beneath the majesty of religion to be protected by a woman, to whom they attributed the abilities and the virtues of a great man. A brief, by which the pope put the holy-see under her protection, authorized her to enter into the affairs of the church, which she sometimes did as a witness, never as an arbitrator, and always contrary to her inclination.

CHAPTER XII.

The death of the archbishop of Paris.

HARLAI, archbishop of Paris, finished an impure life by a scandalous death. He had for two years been in disgrace at court, but accustomed to support himself with the royal authority in the assemblies of the clergy, he was willing to preserve some remains of respect and consideration, by declaring again that he was invested with it. The bishop of Orleans courageously accused him of falsehood; and told him, that he imposed upon that august assembly. The king, when he was informed of what had passed, sent the archbishop orders to retract publicly what he had said, and forbid him for the future, to make use of his name.

Harlai was overwhelmed with this stroke; he departed for Conflans, shut himself up in his closet, and forbid, as usual, any of his domesticks to interrupt him: a precaution which was attributed to his fears of their perceiving that he was afflicted with the falling-sickness. There, with

with great anguish of mind, he took a review of all the mortifications he had suffered, and the many crimes he had committed. His servants, surprised that they were not called, entered his apartment, and found their master in an apoplectick fit, struggling with death. They flew to Paris to get proper assistance; the dutchess de Lesdiguières arrived in haste, but the curate of the parish was not sent for. The archbishop, without shewing any signs of repentance, died in the arms of his mistress, who was soon comforted for his loss by a new lover *.

The king was at Marly when he was informed of Harlai's death. 'Let me not be solicited for this post,' said he, 'I will bestow it upon merit only.' The archbishop of Rheims, treated with great severity, the memory of a man whose faults he should not have mentioned, because he had always been his enemy. The king heard of it, and was extremely offended. The count de Grammont said to the archbishop, 'Monsieur de Rheims, it is a great happiness to be alive.'

No sacred orator would pronounce Harlai's funeral oration: this general refusal

* Memoirs of the bishop of Agen,

was a remainder of ancient probity. Father Gaillard preached a sermon upon the uncertainty of life, but said not a word of the deceased prelate.

The publick named the archbishop of Cambray for the see of Paris; madame de Maintenon asked Hebert, the curate of Versailles, what were people's opinions concerning it. 'Many persons think,' replied Hebert, 'that, if monsieur de Fenelon had not been so lately promoted, the choice would have fallen upon him; and they desire it so earnestly, that they would have this first instance of the king's favour, only the forerunner of a greater.'

'You know,' interrupted madame de Maintenon, 'the reason which hinders us from proposing monsieur de Fenelon; but we have still the bishops of Meaux and Châlons; which of the two would you name for the archbishoprick of Paris?' 'Him who should refuse it,' replied Hebert, 'and certainly monsieur de Châlons will not accept of it.'

Lewis-Antony de Noailles had been raised to the ecclesiastical dignities, without the interposition of the Jesuits, upon whom they depended at that time. His doctrine

doctrine was not suspected; and his piety was so eminent, that the dutchess de Noailles, who died with the reputation of a saint, had no other confessor than her son. Madame de Maintenon proposed this prelate for the vacant see of Paris; and the next day the king desired the marshal de Noailles to write to his brother, to come instantly to court. The bishop of Châlons excused himself on account of the duties of his station. The king dispatched a courier to him; and madame de Maintenon wrote him a very pressing letter. The prelate came to Versailles; and the king immediately offered him the vacant see. The bishop represented to his majesty, that he was very happy at Châlons; that he did some good there which probably he should not be able to do at Paris, where he would meet with continual opposition; that he should have for enemies the Jesuits, whose resentments he would not enter into; the Jansenists, whose opinions he should always oppose; the Quietists, against whom he had already declared; all the ecclesiasticks, whom habit and the example of Harlai had hardened in ignorance and vice; and the whole court, which would not tamely suffer that corruption of manners which now prevailed, should be repressed by church discipline. 'These are powerful enemies,' said the king to him, 'but you may depend upon all my authority.'

Noailles accepted the archbishoprick upon this promise. The Jesuits were busy in determining their choice of the person whom they should propose to the king for the see of Paris, and it was already filled. Father de la Chaise knew it no sooner than the publick; and never pardoned either Noailles or madame de Maintenon for this supposed injury. The king said to his courtiers, ‘ If I had known a man more worthy of this see than the bishop of Châlons, he should not have had it.’

The new archbishop shewed less solicitude for his own preferment, than for that of his family. He made use of an expression like the king’s, to procure for his brother the abbé de Noailles the bishoprick of Châlons, which he had just quitted. ‘ Sire,’ said he to the king, ‘ if I knew one more proper for it, I would propose him to your majesty.’ The abbé de Noailles was not yet arrived to the age required by the canons; but great piety and a premature knowlege, dispensed with it.

CHAPTER XIII.

The explication of the Maxims of the saints.

1696.

WHILE madame Guion espoused Jesus Christ at Vincennes in one of her extacies, sung her loves, sighed out her misfortunes, made parodies on the works of Quinault, endeavoured to have as many visions as Maria d'Agréda, who had been lately canonized at Rome, and only answered her judges with these words, *God has favoured me so far as to overshadow me by father la Combe*, who likewise answered to his judges, *I have overshadowed madame Guion in our Lord*; Fenelon at Cambray was employed in defending her, in defending himself, in proving the orthodoxy of the Mysticks: and Bossuet declaimed at Saint Cyr against Quietism, in conferences wherein the ladies proposed to him their doubts, which he solved with the most convincing eloquence.

Madame de la Maison-fort, the wit of the community, was not convinced by the first

first discourses of the bishop of Meaux; she put her difficulties in writing, these papers are still extant. In them may be seen a train of ideas and sentiments, a fund of erudition and sagacity, which would have seemed astonishing in a man. The bishop answered her. Madame de la Maison-fort appeared satisfied; but a secret inclination always drew her towards the archbishop of Cambray.

Bossuet was soon ashamed of having employed against madame Guion those rigorous methods, by which no one was ever really converted. Noailles caused the prisoner to be removed from the castle of Vincennes to a convent at Vaugirard. This prelate, who always remembered, that the only punishment proper to be inflicted on any person wandering in error, is to be directed to the right way, brought her back by his instructions to ideas more holy and more pure; and obtained without any constraint, a disavowal of all her errors.

Fenelon's book at length appeared, under the title of *An Explication of the Maxims of the Saints*. The style of it was pure and elegant, the principles artfully shewn, the contradictions reconciled with great address. The author appeared to be equal-

ly apprehensive of being accused of adopting the principles of Molinos, and of abandoning those of saint Theresa; sometimes attributing too much to charity, sometimes giving too little to hope. Among his propositions, one establishes the reality of a state in which God is beloved here on earth merely for his own sake. Others, that a soul, oppressed with doubt and anxiety, might in those agonizing moments which the Mysticks call the last trials, make an absolute sacrifice of paradise and its salvation to God. In general, the book might be defended; but it would have been more prudent to have burned it. Fénélon read his work to the archbishop of Paris, who advised him to suppress it; to the abbé Pirot, chancellor of the church of Paris, and doctor of the Sorbonne, who earnestly recommended it to him to give it to the world, and told Hébert, *that it was a book of gold*; to the Jesuits of the college of Clermont, who promised to support it; and to the abbé Fleuri, who thought, that what he did not understand of it was as beautiful as that which he did.

When Bossuet heard of it, he exclaimed with his accustomed vehemence, ‘ Well, let him write, let his book appear before mine; but let him take care, for if he goes

‘ aside from the truth, he shall find me
‘ tracing his steps to bring him back to it.
‘ I will raise my voice ; and, if there is a
‘ necessity for it, I will carry my com-
‘ plaints to Rome.’

Apparently he took this resolution, in order to reconcile himself with Rome ; for he had been one of the most zealous Gallicans of the assembly of the clergy in the year 1682.

The Quietists conceived great hopes from this book ; they spread about a print to declare, that a prophecy of madame Guion’s was accomplished. She had predicted, that prayer would revive under a child, by whom she meant the duke of Burgundy. This picture, proposed by Fenelon, designed by Silvestre, and engraved by le Clerc, represented the duke of Burgundy, in the habit of a shepherd, with a crook in his hand, in the midst of a great number of animals of every species, with these words of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, *Puer parvulus illuminabit eos.*

The duke of Anjou was in a corner, represented like a naked child drawing a serpent out of its hole ; and the duke of Berry, still at the breast, in the arms of his nurse, and playing with an asp, which

he had in his hand. Madame Guion was doubtless meant by the nurse. By these emblems they designed to represent all ages, all ranks, and every passion, calmed and subdued by that spirit of prayer which the prophets had introduced.

Feb.
1697.

Fenelon being at Cambray, when his book was published, the duke de Beauvilliers, who had caused it to be printed, presented a copy of it to the king, who was at Marly, and sent one to Bossuet. Pontchartrain, then comptroller-general, and afterwards chancellor, decried the book to the king, and told him, that none but knaves or dupes approved of it. Maurice le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, treated it no less severely in a letter he wrote to his majesty. The king, who did not think a minister of state, and a Jansenist bishop were proper judges of a theological book, sent for Bossuet, who assured him, that the bishop and the minister were but too much in the right. The king reproached him with his silence upon an affair of such consequence, with his connexions with Fenelon, and his extreme solicitude to consecrate him archbishop of Cambray. Bossuet threw himself at the king's feet, wept, groaned, and implored his forgiveness, for not having revealed to him the fanaticism of his brother. 'I
charge

‘charge your conscience,’ said the king to him, ‘with all the misfortunes which I foresee. God is my witness that the least suspicion against Fenelon would have excluded him for ever from the ecclesiastical dignities.’

This prince, who had so eagerly prosecuted Quietism in Italy, thought it a much greater evil than it really was, and saw with indignation the heresy steal into his court, and even approach his throne. He hated all sectaries; he was apprehensive of the least innovation in religion; he had destroyed the Huguenots, and prosecuted the Jansenists, at the hazard of making his kingdom one continued waste; and he was now informed, that the faith of his family and his heirs were in danger.

He severely reproached madame de Maintenon for having concealed the friendship between Fenelon and madame Guion; for her solicitude to procure him the archbishoprick of Cambray; and the private conferences she had had with him. In vain she represented to him, that the suspicions which had been conceived against monsieur de Fenelon, had given way to the hopes which he had given of his readiness to renounce his errors; that at the examination at Issy, he shewed

the most perfect submission ; and, that some regard ought to be paid to a man so estimable for his piety, and so distinguished for his understanding. The king rejected all these excuses, and appeared to be so highly offended, that madame de Maintenon would have thought herself ruined, if that had been possible.

Father de la Chaise was consulted : he replied, that the book of *Maxims* was an excellent book ; that the Catholics were greatly edified by it ; and that only Janse-nists could disapprove of it.

Father Seignery was the first who had depressed Quietism in Italy, and father de la Chaise had revived it in France. However, the whole society did not engage in this dispute, which proves, that the king's confessor is not always its organ. The society has its interests to pursue, the confessor may have passions to gratify. Father de la Rue preached against disinterested love, and father Bourdaloue candidly owned to madame de Maintenon, that the archbishop's book was not exact ; and that being written in the vulgar tongue, it might be dangerous. This frankness embroiled him with father de la Chaise ; but Bourdaloue was firm to truth.

The

The king, alarmed by Bossuet, pacified by his confessor, suspended his judgment of the book ; but remembered that Fenelon made politick romances, and was afraid that he should make a religious one likewise, especially since he found that the women were extremely fond of a new book, which was already styled *The bible of the little church*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Proposals for an accommodation.

Fenelon, when he returned to Paris, listened only to the clamours of those who envied him, was unmoved with the applauses of his friends, proposed means to stop the scandal his book had given, offered to retouch it, to explain what was obscure in it, and to suppress all that seemed dangerous. He waited upon madame de Maintenon, whom he found employed in reading his book. ‘ Here,’ said she to him, ‘ is a chapter, which I have read nine times, and cannot yet comprehend.’ It was the chapter upon the marriage of the

soul, with which the courtiers were greatly diverted.

‘ Madam,’ replied the archbishop, ‘ you may read it a hundred times, and it will still appear incomprehensible to you. The books of the Mysticks are obscure, and it is not at court where you can learn to understand them.’ ‘ It is doubtless from thence,’ said madame de Maintenon, ‘ that so many shocking clamours proceed against your book. When I think it is you who wrote it, my apprehensions cease.’

Eight days after this interview, madame de Maintenon spoke to him again concerning the new clamours his book had excited, and expressed great grief for them. ‘ But, monsieur,’ added she, ‘ you are too prudent, not to have consulted wife and learned friends upon your work, and too docile not to have been regulated by their opinions.’ ‘ Yes, madam,’ replied the bishop of Cambray, ‘ I shewed my work to the cardinal de Noailles, who read and examined it, and whatever he objected to I have suppressed; I shewed it to messieurs Tronson, Fleuri, and Hébert, who approved it. The bishop of Meaux condemns it, because it has appeared before his book, through the solicitude

‘ licitude of my friends, who had the care
‘ of printing it during my absence, and
‘ were afraid that the bishop of Meaux,
‘ being offended at my not having sub-
‘ mitted the manuscript to his examina-
‘ tion, would suppress it by authority.’

Madame de Maintenon proposed conferences; Cardinal de Noailles, who was always a friend to peace, earnestly desired them. Fenelon consented, provided the bishop of Meaux was excluded from them. He entertained a strong resentment for the invectives this prelate had thrown out against his book; for the name of heretick which he had given him; for the severity with which he had mentioned his book to the king at Marly; and particularly for some words that had escaped him in the hearing of all the courtiers. ‘ The bishop
‘ of Cambray,’ said he, ‘ has often told
‘ me, that, in the interior practice upon
‘ contrition, he was as much to be blamed
‘ as the Molinists.’

Hébert, who was always a spy for his friends, repeated to Fenelon what Bossuet had said. Fenelon, the mildest, the most moderate of men, made efforts to conceal his indignation from Hébert, which he perceived; however, he could not help

saying *, ‘ If monsieur Bossuet said those words, monsieur Bossuet is a most dishonest man. I have never, but in confession, mentioned to him the movements of my soul ; and if he knows them he could know them only by that means.’ The bishop of Meaux printed afterwards what he had thus publicly declared. The bishop of Cambray, in his answer, told him it was an unprecedented thing to abuse the sacred secrecy of confession: nothing in this dispute caused more scandal.

Mean time the bishop of Meaux told the king, that Fenelon, by his obstinacy in rejecting the proposed conferences, would himself condemn his book. Madame de Maintenon, who was often told by her friend, that he only wanted a private conversation with the king to deceive him intirely, procured him an audience. Fenelon told the king, that he had only explained the Maxims of the saints, which he had particulary studied ; and that if any improper expression had escaped him, they should be suppressed in the next edition. The king, after this conversation, was more incensed against the accused prelate than before, either because the presence of a man, who was now odious to

* Manuscript Memoirs of the bishop of Agen.

him,

him, awakened all his anger, or because his suspicions were strengthened by those very arguments which he had made use of to remove them. He shewed great resentment against madame de Maintenon, reproached her again with the secret conferences, accused cardinal de Noailles of weakness, and told Marais that he had expected more from his known zeal. They represented to him, that Fenelon was not yet condemned, and promised him that the affair should be terminated by gentle methods. The archbishop proposed more ample explications; madame de Maintenon mentioned this scheme to the king, who approved of it. Bossuet, enraged that his prey should be thus snatched from him, declared that explications were artful evasions, insisted upon a formal recantation, produced a long list of divines, who disapproved of the book, and raised the king's resentment against madame de Maintenon, father de la Chaise, and the whole court.

The publick not being able to judge of the dispute, reasoned upon the disputants. They endeavoured to discover the cause of Bossuet's animosity, and Fenelon's obstinacy; zeal for religion, said they, inspires charity not rage; the bishop of Cambray's great reputation gives umbrage to the bishop of

Meaux. He thinks the praises which are bestowed on others injurious to his fame; he will not believe that the tradition of the church, concerning an article of such importance, could escape him. He has always loved the court better than his diocese; he has ambition; he has lost the place of first almoner to the dauphiness; he wants to recover it in the household of the dutchess of Burgundy, and to exclude Fenelon, who has a better claim to it than himself. Others said, that before his dispute with Fenelon, he was sure of the place; that his superiority was too generally acknowledged to suffer him to be suspected of jealousy, as if a superiour or an equal could only excite it; that his zeal, which was perhaps too vehement, proceeded from his adherence to truth, which made him forget what he owed to friendship, to fulfil the duties of his function; that, as guardian of the doctrine contained in the articles of Issy, he was justly enraged against Fenelon, who, after having signed those articles, condemned them by a book which made a schism in the church.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Fenelon submits his book to the judgment of Rome.

Fenelon defended the book which he was not allowed to explain, and was answered by Bossuet. One had on his side the court and the college of Clermont; the other, the Jansenists and the city. Here the bishop of Meaux's Pastoral instruction was looked upon as a complete refutation of the book of *Maxims*. There, they maintained that it was an apology for it: but why all this animosity, this fervour of opposition, they cried; these two bishops maintain the same doctrine, they differ only in their expressions; are meer words of consequence enough to give occasion for such scandalous scenes? By wise and disinterested persons Fenelon was blamed for having wrote the book, and Bossuet for having condemned it.

Madame de Maintenon continued neutral in this affair: esteem, friendship, compassion, bound her to Fenelon; but these

these sentiments were less forceable than a secret regret which she felt, yet possibly concealed even from herself, for having so long confided the care of her conscience to a man accused of a monstrous heresy. The bishop of Meaux endeavoured to animate her against Fenelon, a powerful inclination still drew her towards him; the bishop of Chartres, who directed her conscience, filled her with scruples. In this perplexed state of mind she desired to see the heretic again, and to confront him with cardinal de Noailles. The cardinal owned that he had examined the book, but denied that he had approved of it. This conversation increased her doubts and her uneasiness. ‘Dispute, gentlemen,’ said she to them; ‘and if possible let each prove himself in the right.’ If she had been a Quietist, would Quietism have been an error?

Fenelon flattered himself that he should find powerful protectors at Rome, where he knew his adversaries had no influence. He was advised by all his friends to carry his cause there, upon the first instance that should be made for that purpose. Father de la Chaise wrote in the king’s name to cardinal de Jansson, and intreated him to protect *the Maxims of the Saints*, the doctrine of which must necessarily be pure, since,

since it was opposed by all the Jansenists. The cardinal assured the king in his answer, that he should be obeyed. When the king read these dispatches he sent for father de la Chaise, and reproached him severely with his presumption in daring to abuse his name, would not listen to his excuses, and commanded Torcy to disavow instantly what the Jesuit had wrote.

Madame de Maintenon, at the earnest intreaties of the bishop of Cambray, gave the king to understand that, to preserve peace in France, this contest must be decided at Rome. The king did not oppose it; Fenelon took his silence for a permission, and afterwards for an order, and accordingly wrote to the pope. Cardinal de Bouillon offered to hasten his journey under pretence that his presence was necessary there, because he was to succeed to the place of dean of the sacred college after the deaths of Cibo and Altieri; he assured Fenelon, that he would manage it so as to become master of all the deliberations: but to secure the success of his negotiation he desired that he might be charged with the king's affairs at the court of Rome. Father de la Chaise represented to Jansson, that it was time he should enjoy the benefits with which the king designed to reward his service. Jansson fell into this snare, and, in all his dispatches, intreated
that

that cardinal de Bouillon might be sent speedily to succeed him, alledging that the title of the king's ambassador joined to that of dean of the sacred college, would be very advantageous to the interests of the nation.

The king had an aversion to Bouillon; he remembered the affair of the intercepted letters, and could never pardon him for having attempted to procure for his nephew the title of prince Dauphin, on account of his principality of Dauphine in Auvergne; but Pontchartrain and Torcy were gained over, and Bouillon was appointed ambassador. Vain, restless, ambitious, obliged to the Jesuits for his recall from banishment, a personal enemy to Noailles, an intimate friend of Fenelon's, proud of his birth, made more insolent by his misfortunes, without abilities for affairs of the least consequence, presumptuous enough to undertake the most difficult and important, who wished for nothing more ardently than to give trouble to the king, whom he could never forgive for his exile and the loss of the bishoprick of Liege: such was Bouillon, now ambassador from the king to Rome, and attentive only to the interests of the archbishop of Cambray. He made Charonier, the Jesuit, his chaplain, a man remarkable
for

for his affectation of quoting the poets, his gross flattery, and his obscene conversation.

The fatigue of the journey, or the change of climate, had such an effect upon Bouillon's constitution, that soon after his arrival at Rome, he was seized with a disorder which terminated in a real frenzy. All day he was melancholy, and sunk in the extremest dejection; at night he was raving, he neither eat or slept, his mind was agitated with the most gloomy ideas, and he was obliged to be watched incessantly, lest he should make any attempt upon his life: however the baths of Fiescati restored him to health, and cured his disordered brain.

Fenelon continued to protest his readiness to submit, and Bossuet his resolution to pursue him. 'I will raise my voice, even to heaven, against his errors,' said he, 'the cause of God shall never be basely abandoned: although I should be alone in this opposition, yet alone will I resist all. Souls are in danger; but God will never abandon either his church or me: whatever happens, truth will be triumphant, and error confounded *.'

* Account of Quietism, p. 264.

If this vehement prelate had been condemned, can it be imagined that he would have submitted?

CHAPTER XVI.

Fenelon sent back to his diocese.

July
1697.

THE king, who had not yet deprived Fenelon of his post of preceptor to the princes, would not permit him to go in person to Rome to solicit his affair, and proposed to him to have a conference with the bishop of Meaux. Fenelon seemed desirous of avoiding the dispute, either because he hated Bouffet, or was apprehensive, that he should be overwhelmed with his imperious volubility. However, at Hébert's persuasion, he sacrificed his resentment to the love of truth; and consented to the proposed conference, provided that cardinal de Noailles and eight doctors of divinity were present, and that a secretary was permitted to take down in writing the objections and their answers *. He delivered these conditions in writing to father

* Manuscript Memoirs of the bishop of Agen.

Valois,

Valois, who acted the part of a mediator, that he might keep his place, and serve his friend.

Father la Combe, who was confined at Vincennes, confessed all that had passed between madame Guion and him; he once wrote a letter * to his penitent, in which he recalled to his remembrance their former familiarities, and exhorted her to repentance. Cardinal Noailles caused this letter to be read to madame Guion, who immediately exclaimed, to father la Combe, ' Most unhappy man ! ' oh my God, how impenetrable are thy judgments !'

Madame Guion's woman, and a gentleman belonging to the duke of Orleans, accused her of having had criminal intrigues ; she was sent to the Bastile, and her defender was now irrevocably ruined. This letter of father de laCombe's threw the king into an excess of rage: he looked upon madame Guion as a corrupter of virtue ; the dutchesses de Guiche, de Mortimar, de Sully, de Chevreuse, and de Beauvilliers, as corrupted ; Fenelon as a protector of vice ; and madame de Maintenon as an accomplice in all the evils she had con-

* Manuscript Memoirs of the bishop of Agen, p. 508, 509.

cealed.

cealed. He often recalled to his remembrance the devout conferences at the hôtel de Beauvilliers, and always with new bitterness : and who knows how far his suspicions went ? if we may judge by those transports of rage to which he was so little accustomed, they spared not the purest virtue, or the most unblemished character.

Mean time Fenelon, surrounded by his friends, dissipated his uneasiness by the innocent pleasures of an easy and enlivened conversation. The abbé de Langeron entered the room with a dejected air, ‘ Have you received a letter from Flanders, my Lord ? ’ said he, ‘ yes, ’ replied the archbishop, ‘ have they informed you of what has happened ? ’ resumed the abbé, ‘ yes, ’ answered the archbishop, ‘ they have ; ’ ‘ but have they told you, ’ said the abbé, ‘ that all your furniture, your books, and papers, are burned ? ’ ‘ yes, my dear abbé, ’ returned the archbishop, ‘ I know all this, and I am already comforted.’

He resumed with great calmness the agreeable conversation which Langeron had interrupted. When a few minutes afterwards a letter from the king was delivered to him, he opened it without any precipitation, found he was ruined, and did not discover the least emotion or change of colour,

hour, just mentioned it to his friends, and then continued his discourse.

Fenelon, though so suddenly banished to his diocese, still preserved his post of preceptor to the princes: this was all that the king granted to the intreaties of madame de Maintenon, and the tears of the duke of Burgundy. Cardinal de Noailles, and the bishop of Chartres, who had formed great hopes from the conferences having been accepted, were convinced that the bishop of Meaux had put some secret spring in motion to punish the archbishop for his obstinacy.

These two prelates were not enemies to the doctrine of the interior life; and probably, if they had not been apprehensive, that the book of *Maxims* was rather an apology for madame Guion, than an explication of the sentiments of the Mysticks, they would have been silent, or perhaps have joined Fenelon. The bishop of Chartres had often declared, that his sentiments were the same as Fenelon's, but that he expressed them differently; and the archbishop of Paris seemed in these words, of his *Pastoral Instruction* to engage himself in the defence of disinterested love. *Let us not blame that excess to which souls are carried by love: the measure of the love of God is to love without measure.*

Madame

Madame de Maintenon did not think herself entitled to enter into an affair which was laid before the holy see ; she therefore expected in silence the decision of the church ; but she intirely rooted out of Saint-Cyr the principles of the Mysticks : she exhorted madame de la Maisonfort to conform to the ordinances, to walk towards God in more simple paths, and to resume her former imperfections, rather than to preserve those which she had acquired by her chimeras. Madame de la Maisonfort obeyed, but very soon afterwards she had new visions.

Bossuet, notwithstanding all his endeavours, was not able to convince her of her errors, because she thought he had shewn great want of candour in so boldly condemning in Fenelon what he durst not condemn in the saints. The bishop sought to reconcile a profound respect for the mystical writers, with an absolute contempt for their defender ; and this was not possible.

From Cambray, Fenelon wrote a most edifying letter to the duke de Beauvilliers. In this letter, he neither complained of the king's severity, the injustice of his enemies, nor the cabals of those who envied

vied him. He appeared calm, resigned, superiour to adversity, ready to submit, and convinced that disinterested love ought to be defended with the most perfect disinterestedness. This letter, which was printed in Paris, and translated into Italian, gained him a great number of partisans.

Bossuet, who rather chose to argue upon prayer than to pray himself, wrote an answer to this letter. To terms which declared the most perfect resignation, he gave a sense which expressed a determined opposition; 'Already, said he, ' his obedience is arming itself against expected ' defeats; and we shall see resumed those ' subtle refinements, which have given ' so much trouble to past ages, and will ' weary our own.'

He openly reproached the archbishop of Cambray with insinuating that prayer was persecuted, that he might have the honour of falling a martyr to it, and engaged in theological reasoning, which dazzled the churchmen, and tired every one besides: even his friends were mortified at the bitterness of his zeal; the ministers disapproved of it; Fleuri, Catalan, Langeron, blamed him loudly; and what did not his enemies say? his Apocalypse was

a meer revery; his notes upon David and Solomon pedantick; his variations were a fine romance; his exposition of the catholick faith a mean palliation of the doctrine of the church. Bossuet was not ignorant of these censures; he knew who propagated them; he might have ruined them with a single word; yet he had them often at his table, either to oppose charity to malice, or to make them witnesses of his triumph, or perhaps for both these reasons*.

CHAPTER XVII.

Writings for and against the book of Maxims.

THE dispute grew warmer every day: scarce did a book of Bossuet's appear, when it produced several answers from the archbishop of Cambray. Fenecon told him, with an engaging softness, that he was the most outrageous of men. Bossuet, replied with fury, 'and you the most artful: far from finding in you the

*. An Account of Quietism, Part II, p. 4.

‘ humility of a bishop, I neither find that
‘ of a christian, nor even of a man.’

The intentions of this prelate might be right, but certainly his malignity can never be justified; for when Fenelon protested that he would submit to the decision of the church, Bossuet never failed to cry out, that he would not submit. He was entitled by his function to attack error, but not to render the person who was guilty of it, odious. I had patience enough to read all these writings, and I never found any answer of Bossuet to these words of Fenelon*: *I am that author whom you pretend to love so affectionately, yet would precipitate with Molinos into the abyss of Quietism. You lament my misfortunes, and while you lament me you tear my reputation in pieces.*

Saint Francis de Salles was quoted by each party: it would have been better if both had abandoned him. Fenelon was to blame for following him, and Bossuet for explaining him†. The bishop of Meaux
VOL. IV. E shewed

* Letter to the bishop of Meaux.

† “ Spiritual lovers, spouses of the king of heaven,
“ gaze at themselves, purify, and adorn themselves, as
“ much as possible; not to be perfect, not for their own
“ satisfaction, not for the pleasure of contemplating
“ themselves, not to acquire a place in heaven, but to
“ obey their spouse; they do not purify themselves that
they

shewed as much unwillingness to acknowledge the errors of St. Frances de Salles, as the archbishop of Cambray to acknowledge his own; they both, by substituting authority in the place of reason, had engaged themselves in difficulties which they could not remove. Bossuet, astonished at the genius and eloquence of his adversary, trembled, or pretended to tremble, for religion. The countess of Grignan asking him one day, whether the archbishop of Cambray had so much wit as he was said to have. 'Ah! madam,' replied Bossuet, 'he has wit enough to make him extremely dangerous.'

Sept.
1698.

Madame de Maintenon, equally solicitous to preserve among her children purity of faith as well as innocence of manners, intreated the king to dismiss three nuns

" they may be pure; they do not adorn themselves to
 " appear beautiful, but only to please their lover, to
 " whom, if ugliness was more agreeable than beauty,
 " they would prefer ugliness to beauty itself. *St. Francis*
 " *de Salles to mother de Chantal, and elsewhere.* Yes,
 " they would even prefer hell to paradise, if they knew
 " that in hell they should have a little more divine pleasure than in paradise; so that if by the imagination of
 " a thing impossible they knew that damnation was a
 " little more agreeable to God than salvation, they would
 " quit salvation and turn to damnation." The writing of St. Francis de Salles is full of passages as singular as this. Here we must drop the saint, confess that he has been a mere man, and allow that the archbishop of Cambray was to blame to copy so new a saint,

from

from Saint-Cyr, whose obstinacy had resisted the arguments of the bishops of Chartres and Meaux. The king went himself to Saint-Cyr with the duchess of Burgundy: he caused the community to be assembled, and represented in very strong terms the danger of new opinions; told them that Quietism should not resist him who had crushed Jansenism; forbid them ever to receive again those obstinate nuns; protested that he took those precautions to secure the house of St. Lewis against the shocks which it might receive after his death; and several times repeated, *a restless and singular turn of mind is every where to be dreaded.*

He did not stop here; he was apprehensive that the merit and talents of the ladies de la Maison-fort, de Tour, and de Montaigle, who had been dismissed, should one day inspire the community with an inclination to recall them: he wrote from Compiègne to the superiour, that it was his express command, these ladies should not be again received into the community, either during his life, or after his death.

Saint-Cyr, always faithful to the intentions of its founder, has ever since preserved the treasure of faith with so much the more care, as it has been taught by a domestick

example how easily it might be lost. Madame de Maintenon established a maxim there, with which errors may sometimes be committed, but blame can never be incurred; and this maxim is an inviolable attachment to the holy see, and a blind submission to him who fills it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Calumny refuted.

THE polemical writings were continued upon both sides. Fenelon complained that his adversary wanted to make him an heretick, in spite of himself. Two bishops gave each other publicly the lye; the faithful were scandalized at it, the libertines laughed, the duke de Nevers wrote satires, the king said, 'I thought they would have been silent till Rome had spoke.'

The wise were afflicted to see two of the greatest geniuses of France employ their time and their wit in works which would sink into oblivion with the disputes which occasioned them. The critics observed,

served, that neither of these prelates attacked the moral character of the other; although the connections of one with madame Guion had given room for a great deal of calumny, and the other's friendship for mademoiselle de Vieux de Mauleon, had already furnished Jurieu † with satyrical stories.

The friends of Bossuet (and no man ever had more) still extol his moderation, and pretend that he might have ruined his enemy if he had not suppressed the examination of madame Guion, who had charged Fenelon with having, according to that expression in the song of songs, *Climbed up the palm tree and gathered the fruit*. A base and absurd calumny; base, for I have seen the original of the verbal process in the hand of the abbé Pirot, and Fenelon is not mentioned in it; absurd, for after the reproaches with which the king loaded those who had concealed Fenelon's friendship for her, how improbable is it that they should have dared to conceal her crimes? Would the lieutenant of police have connived at this secrecy, he who would have wrote a treatise against the Quietists, who was less apprehensive of the reasonings of

† See Jurieu's pastoral letters to the sectaries of France. Father de la Chaise said, that the bishop of Meaux was more of a Mauleonist than a Molenist, See the Age of Lewis XIV.

Reynie than of those letters de cachet which are seldom reasonable. The virtue of the archbishop of Cambray remained unsullied in a quarrel where his adversaries were continually exclaiming that virtue was destroyed: even the character of madame Guion was at last cleared by the solemn testimony of an assembly of the clergy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Fenelon's book examined at Rome.

THE king wrote to the pope in very severe terms against the book of *Maxims*. Bouillon reported, that this letter had been extorted from Lewis by cardinal de Noailles and the bishop de Meaux.

The congregation of the holy office named seven persons in religious orders for examiners, and not one bishop, 'Because,' said the abbé Phelippeaux with great simplicity, 'the prelates of Rome do not understand religious affairs, and leave theology to the monks;' however the Gallican church shews more deference and respect for the decisions of such an assembly than for those of a general assembly of her own

own clergy. Truth is not easily discovered at a distance, they may say, *Rome has declared*, and names govern the world.

Each bishop had his solicitor at Rome: Cambray had the abbé de Chanterac, his uncle and his grand vicar; and Meaux, the abbé Bossuet his nephew. Bossuet was represented as the oracle of the church of France, and Fenelon as persecuted by a league of bishops who were enemies to the court of Rome, and protected by the jesuits, who being accused of alledging that divine love should not begin in sinners, maintained the necessity of that love in the just. So certain it is that a dispute upon religion is a mere party affair.

The assembly had sat two or three times, when the archbishop of Cambray had but two voices against five. Cardinal de Bouillon endeavoured, but in vain, to exclude *consulteurs* from these debates, whose learning and candour were well known, and to substitute others in their place more pleasing to the Holy Ghost. He could obtain but two bishops, le Drou and Rudolovic, who were more ignorant than all the *monsignors* together †.

† An account of Quietism, by the abbé Phelippeaux, theologian to the abbé Bossuet.

The admission of these two prelates produced warm debates in the congregation, and a scandalous division. The archbishop of Cambray's friends triumphed, and maintained, that it was no longer possible to condemn the book. The pope, a weak prince, who had no opinion of his own, was grieved at a schism that was likely to throw dishonour upon the court of Rome: he added three other *consulteurs* to the former, and the book was again brought under examination.

The friends of Cambray reported at Rome, that ever since Fenelon had published his pastoral letter, the prejudices of Paris had been removed; that the king, who was better informed of the nature of the dispute, had expressed great concern for what he had done in the first fervour of mistaken zeal; that the archbishop of Paris and the bishop of Chartres had abandoned Bossuet; and that Europe looked upon Fenelon as a victim which the bishop of Meaux, jealous of his great abilities, was resolved to sacrifice to his own fame. Both parties supposed Rome to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, yet argued, wrote, and acted, as if that court could be only determined by worldly motives.

These reports suspended the judgment of the pope and of the congregation: before
they

they pronounced sentence it was necessary to know what sentence would please the coactive power; for without the sword and the faggot, what force could the decrees of that tribunal have, which decides arbitrarily upon opinions?

They pressed the *consulteurs* to make an end, and overwhelmed them with books; they hastened the sentence by importunities, and retarded it by immense reading. The pope, concerned at the fury with which the three bishops demanded a condemnation which they had anticipated, was apprehensive that he should endanger his authority; the divines who examined the book were divided in their opinions, and the cardinals agreed no better in theirs.

Bouillon, after various attempts, which had all proved unsuccessful, hoped to save the honour of his friend by proposing, that the reading of the book of *Maxims* should be prohibited till it was corrected. This expedient was rejected. He then proposed to confirm the sound doctrine by canons which should be silent with regard to the book under examination. The *Meldists* warded off this stroke. At length, in the last meetings of the assembly, he thus addressed the sacred college:

' Who is it that you suppose you are
 ' condemning? a theologian covered
 ' with the rust of colleges, a private man
 ' without dignity, without support? Un-
 ' deceive yourselves; it is an archbishop
 ' against whom you resolve to pronounce
 ' sentence, the greatest genius in the king-
 ' dom, a man devout in his life, wise in
 ' the government of his diocese; a man
 ' who has done you the honour to lay his
 ' case before you on the first demand, who
 ' has recourse to the authority of the holy
 ' see, that authority so weakened and so
 ' despised by his enemies; a divine whose
 ' doctrine is approved of by the wise and
 ' good, and only condemned by five
 ' wretched *Fraticelli*, without reputation,
 ' without learning, so obscure that I know
 ' not even their names. Reflect upon the
 ' consequence of your condemnation; a
 ' thousand printed books will contradict
 ' your judgment; you will for the future
 ' be no more able to teach disinterested
 ' love than to feel it. Condemn the arch-
 ' bishop of Cambray, if you will, he will
 ' find resources in his genius and in his
 ' friends. You may oppress him, he will
 ' never forsake himself; you may humble
 ' him, his friends will exalt him.'

These threats gave great offence to the
 cardinals; one of them replied, ' My lord
 ' cardinal,

‘ cardinal, we are judges, and not scholars.’ The pope was enraged at the insolence of Bouillon, who threatened him while he kissed his feet. ‘ This man,’ said he, ‘ never comes to me but to be rude, ‘ he looks always like a hunted boar.’ Bouillon however, that he might excuse himself to the king, agreed with the cardinals in condemning the propositions which he had undertaken to defend. ‘ It ‘ is not for us,’ said he to them, ‘ to defend pure love, we who only know its ‘ contrary.’

CHAPTER XX.

The disgrace of Fenelon.

THE king being informed of the false reports which were propagated concerning his friendship for the archbishop of Cambray, and the advantage that was taken of this mistake, grieved that he had appointed a Quietist to be the preceptor to his children, and a Quietist to be also their confessor †, enraged that his name had

† Father Valois, a jesuit, who had been placed by Fenelon about the princefs.

been abused, earnestly solicited the condemnation of the book of *Maxims*, and gave a publick testimony of his displeasure against Fenelon, which effectually destroyed the notion that had been conceived at Rome of his partial affection for that prelate: Fenelon lost his place of preceptor, and the pension annexed to it, notwithstanding the tears and intreaties of the duke of Burgundy.

All his relations were deprived of their employments; one of his brothers was dismissed from the marine, the abbé de Beaumont, his nephew; the abbé de Langeron, his friend; Du Puis and Leschelle, *menins* to the princess, were banished from the court; all his partizans were looked upon as guilty; to correspond with him by letters was a crime against the state*: the son of madame Guion had orders to quit the guards, where he served with distinction. The dukes of Beauvilliers, Guiche, Chevreuse, and Sully, were apprehensive of being involved in the disgracc of their friend; it was talked of publicly at court, and earnestly desired by the Jansenists and the courtiers, the former because the archbishop of Cambray had robbed them of the duke de Chevreuse, the

§ MS. Memoirs of the bishop of Agen, p. 520.

latter

latter because the virtue of the duke de Beauvilliers mortified them as much as his great favour at court. It was debated in private council, whether that nobleman should not be banished from court.

The king durst not condemn the governor of his grand-children unheard. The duke de Beauvilliers, after having briefly recounted to him the beginning and progress of this affair, added these words: ‘ I
‘ have no reproach to make myself with
‘ regard to Quietism ; I am what I have
‘ ever been, humbly submissive to all the
‘ decisions of the church. If the arch-
‘ bishop of Cambray’s opinions are erro-
‘ neous, those opinions are not mine. In
‘ matters of faith, my judgment is regu-
‘ lated by my curate, and not by my friend.
‘ Either the whole court is as guilty as I
‘ am, or I am as innocent as the whole
‘ court. The education of the princes is
‘ not endangered by being confided to my
‘ care; they are so far from having the
‘ sentiments of Quietists, that they are
‘ even ignorant of their nature. I know,
‘ sire, that I am accused of fatiguing them
‘ with too fervent prayers : if Rome con-
‘ demns this, I will reduce them to the
‘ mere recital of the chapelet. I am the
‘ work of your majesty ; you have raised
‘ me, you can throw me down ; in the
‘ will

‘ will of my prince I will acknowledge the
‘ will of God. I shall retire from the
‘ court with the regret of having displeased
‘ you, and with the hope of living easier
‘ for the future.’ The king appeared satisfied with these sentiments.

Madame de Maintenon was inconsolable for the archbishop’s disgrace. The bishop of Meaux had put it out of her power to support him, by telling the king that the court of Rome would never resolve to condemn a man whom it supposed to be supported by her. She could not shew any compassion for him; the salvation of the princes was more dear to her than the fortune of her friend; she durst not speak lest she should strengthen the king’s suspicions. Her grief thus suppressed corrupted her blood, she was seized with a dangerous illness. ‘ You are then resolved to die for
‘ this fellow,’ said the king to her*.

This harshness added to her affliction. Lewis, whose heart was torn with uneasy doubts, reproached her with her connections with Fenelon, and those private conversations which he had been so long ignorant of. Madame de Maintenon could no otherwise remove these dangerous prejudices

* *Memoirs of madame du Perou.*

than by never mentioning the name of Fenelon. This affair is very differently related by Ramsay, who attributes the archbishop's disgrace to the secret practices of madame de Maintenon, meanly jealous of that prelate's favour with the king, who could not endure him in his presence †.

But why did not madame de Maintenon endeavour to prevent the precipitate disgrace of a man for whom she had so great a friendship? Why did she not intreat the king to take no resolution against him before he was condemned by Rome? This is the question which I asked the marchioness de ***, who was a long time intimately acquainted with madame de Maintenon and the archbishop of Cambray; and here follows her answer, word for word: *If madame de Maintenon's acknowledged virtue would have permitted the king to have entertained any jealous suspicions, they would have fallen upon the archbishop of Cambray.*

Bouillon was thunderstruck with the letter which brought him an account of these changes, yet his friendship for Fenelon continued inviolable. 'It is my glory,' said he, 'to have served my friend.' He was told that he would ruin himself. 'A

† Ramsay's Life of Fenelon.

‘man of my quality,’ answered he, ‘cannot be easily ruined; such as Noailles may fall, but Bouillon never.’ His flatterers persuaded him that he was in friendship what Turenne was in war.

It was little for madame de Maintenon to be forced to conceal her grief in her own breast; she was reduced to the necessity of betraying the confidence which Fenelon in happier times had reposed in her. Honour, zeal, compassion, tore her heart by turns. At Rome it was reported, that the archbishop of Cambray had been intimately connected with madame Guion; his friends denied it: at Paris they were busy in producing proofs. Madame de Maintenon had been imprudent enough to say, that the archbishop of Cambray had formerly wrote to her upon this subject; the bishop of Chartres told this in confidence to Bossuet, who replied, that the interest of religion would not admit of these delicacies of friendship: the same reason was urged to madame de Maintenon, as if truth could only triumph by an act of perfidiousness. Madame de Maintenon was weak enough to give the bishop of Chartres a copy of his letter*, and to shew the original of it to the nuncio: a

* It is in the collection of the letters,

copy of it was sent to Rome, other copies were distributed by the abbé Bossuet among the cardinals; Bouillon was disconcerted, the abbé de Chanterac was silent, Fenelon wrote a long apology, but nobody regarded it.

This letter determined the congregation of the cardinals, who but for the imprudent zeal of madame de Maintenon, or her breach of faith, and the recantation so seasonably forced from father la Combe, would probably have sent the parties out of court. This affair had always been thought by the pope to be of little consequence: *Cambray*, said he, *has sinned thro' his excess of love for God, and Meaux for want of love to his neighbour.*

His holiness observing that the cardinals were offended with Fenelon for having destroyed hope, and Bossuet for lessening charity: 'It is faith,' said he, 'that is in danger, and none of you think of that.' In France they were apprehensive that the church was in danger; at Rome, where one diviner cannot see another without laughing, it was asked from whence these fears of France proceeded?

CHAPTER XXI.

Fenelon is condemned, and submits.

Mar. 13
1699.

AFTER many debates cardinal Cazanata drew up a brief which displeased both parties: the friends of Cambray alleged that a brief had no force in parliament, and could not make a law of the doctrine. The pope intended to have given a bull. The partizans of Bossuet said that the exordium was dry and mean; they were surprized that no mention was made of Molinos or Quietism, that those who defended the book of *Maxims* were not excommunicated; that the propositions contained in it were not stiled heresies; that the pope should venture to declare that he had pronounced sentence *motu proprio*, when he had been solicited to it by the king and by the archbishop of Cambray.

It is remarkable that this brief did not condemn the mystical authors which Fenelon had explained; their doctrine crushed in his book, triumphed in their own.

own. It must be confessed that Fenelon's crime was the having drawn it from the obscurity that involved it; when freed from that unintelligible gibberish in which it was conveyed, it appeared new; it shocked the faithful, and terrified the divines; the arts of cabal, the power of authority, the force of reasoning; all were employed to destroy errors, which, thanks to the progress that natural philosophy has made in our climate, must necessarily destroy themselves. The visions of asceticks are only believed and propagated in those countries where the sun inflames the imagination and dries up the brain; there libertines, who never think they are loved enough, rush into the excesses of profane love; and the devout, who are always apprehensive that they can never love sufficiently, into that love they call divine.

Fenelon was greatly affected with this brief; but his humility, or perhaps a generous pride, silenced the specious suggestions of vanity; he had promised submission, and he did submit without restriction or reserve: when he ascended the episcopal chair, and pronounced his own condemnation, the whole assembly burst into tears.

He

He afterwards published a mandate against his book, for which the pope congratulated him. His readiness in submitting justified him in the hearts of all men; it was blamed only by Jurieu, who attributed it to meanness, and by Bossuet, who accused him of dissimulation. Those who had been pleased with the opportunity of disputing with a heretick, had not the additional pleasure of persecuting a rebel *. His enemies were enraged at it; they had flattered themselves with an act of disobedience, which would have justified their premature censures: and when they saw the most perfect submission they demanded a formal recantation, such as had been readily granted by the dukes de Chevreuses and Beauvilliers, who preserved their employments by abjuring the *little church*, but irrevocably lost the king's favour for having once approved it.

* The bishop of Agen, in his memoirs, page 529 and 530, assures us, that Bossuet had given out, that the archbishop of Cambray would not submit, and had said some words to him to that effect. In page 537 he also assures us, that the bishop of Meaux was publicly accused with having dispatched several couriers to monsieur de Valbelles, bishop of St. Omer, and suffragan to Cambray, with earnest entreaties to him to condemn the mandate of his metropolitan. The bishop of St. Omer's compliance gave great offence to the whole provincial assembly; Cambray was also required to condemn all he had written in defence of his book, which surely was very unjust, since a text may be blameable, and its commentary not so.

The

The king recalled the cardinal de Bouillon, who left Rome immediately, in obedience to his majesty's orders, but returned with as much expedition when he heard that the place of dean of the sacred college was vacant by the death of cardinal Cibo.

The king sent orders to the prince of Monaco, his ambassador at Rome, to demand Bouillon to resign the order of the holy ghost, and the post of great almoner of France. The next day Pasquin appeared in the habit of a cardinal, in a suppliant posture, presenting a petition to the king of France, with these words of the prophet, *Ne projicias me à facie tuâ, & spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas à me.* Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.

In the provincial assembly summoned for the acceptation of the pope's brief, the bishop of Meaux inveighed so bitterly against the archbishop of Cambray, that all who were present were greatly scandalized at his furious zeal. The assembly, notwithstanding the opposition made by Bossuet, decreed, that in the mandate of each bishop, thanks should be given to God for the great satisfaction which Fenelon's perfect submission had given to the church.

Fenelon,

Fenelon, greater in his defeat than his enemy in his triumph, thought he owed his diocese a monument of his repentance: he caused a sun to be made for the exposition of the holy sacrament, supported by angels, one of whom trampled under his feet several heretical books, upon one of which was the title of his own.

Madame de Maintenon was greatly edified by his submission to the holy see; but the bishop of Chartres persuaded her, that the archbishop of Cambray owed a still greater example of humility to the church; that barely submitting to its sentence was not sufficient; and that a prelate convicted of false doctrine, was obliged to refute his errors with the same zeal with which he had propagated them. ‘I shall never believe,’ said she, ‘that a man has renounced an erroneous opinion, till I see him attack it with as much force as he defended it.’ However, as the pope was satisfied, madame de Maintenon was obliged to seem so likewise.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXII.

*Madame de Maintenon accused of being
sollicitous to have her marriage de-
clared.*

ALL Europe was astonished at the archbishop of Cambray's disgrace, which was generally attributed to madame de Maintenon. At Paris, where Feneilon's cabals at the court of Rome, Bouillon's treachery, and the king's sentiments, were not known, they were concerned for the misfortunes of the archbishop; and since they found he was not protected by madame de Maintenon, they supposed he was oppressed by her; they endeavoured to find out the cause of this unexpected persecution, and this was what they reported.

Madame de Maintenon, not contented with the high rank to which Lewis had raised her, was desirous of having her marriage declared: she accustomed the king to this expectation; she quoted to him the examples of several sovereigns who had not disdained to raise their subjects to the throne, and inspired him with a thousand scruples
upon

upon the scandal which their extreme familiarity occasioned, and to which the whole court was witness.

Lewis, unable to resist her importunities, resolved to be directed in the affair by the opinions of the most able casuists. Madame de Maintenon consulted the archbishop of Cambray, and father le Comte, confessor to the dutchess of Burgundy. As she had proposed the question under the characters of a young lady and a gentleman, they found no difficulty in deciding it, and their decision was agreeable to her wishes; but to father de la Chaise she opened her mind freely: the confessor saw the great importance of the question, and being apprehensive of her displeasure, evaded answering her, and proposed the archbishop of Cambray as a person who was very capable of deciding so delicate a point.

Fenelon was no less sensible of the danger of such a decision than the jesuit. 'What have I done to you, father,' said he, 'that you seem resolved to ruin me?' Father de la Chaise replied, that the king expected him at the council of conscience*.

† It is observable, that at that time there was no council of conscience.

' Well,

‘ Well,’ resumed the archbishop, ‘ let us
‘ attend him there then ;’ *although Balac
should give me his house full of gold and
silver, yet would I say all that the Lord shall
inspire me with.*

Noailles *, archbishop of Paris, Bos-
fuet, father de la Chaise, father le Comte,
and Fenelon, deliberated upon this ques-
tion : the two former were for having the
marriage declared, the two latter were against
it. Father de la Chaise did not give his
opinion till he saw on what side the bal-
lance lay, and read in the king’s eyes
which would be most agreeable to him ;
the archbishop of Cambray, preferring the
honour of France, of his master, and his
pupils, to his own particular interest, re-
presented to the king, that no scandal
could be given by his manner of living with
madame de Maintenon ; that no person
was ignorant of the marriage, although it
was not declared ; that France had too
high an idea of the piety of its monarch,
and the virtue of madame de Maintenon,
to suppose their commerce to be a cri-
minal one ; that the court, accustomed to
their intimacy for twelve years, could not
mistake the nature of it ; that, to give
madame de Maintenon the title of queen,

* The authors of this tale say *Harlay*. But *Harlay* died
in 1695, and father le Comte had not yet appeared at court.

would dishonour the throne, without raising her, who had almost all the honours of it.

Father de la Chaise declared himself of this opinion, which was but weakly opposed by Noailles and Bossuet, who had only seemed of a contrary one to lay a snare for Fenelon. There needed no more to determine Lewis. Madame de Maintenon perceived that her design had failed, and in revenge caused the *Maxims of the Saints* to be condemned at Rome, procured the author's banishment from court, and raised father le Comte two potent enemies in Tiberge and Brisacier †, who at the court of Rome accused the writings of that jesuit upon the Chinese ceremonies, of heresy. The dauphin acknowledged to Fenelon and to father le Comte, the obligation they had laid him under, by opposing the declaration of the marriage; he embraced them, and expressed the highest regard for them; but he was so enraged against the archbishop of Paris and the bishop of Meaux, that he treated them like insolent churchmen, whom nothing but his respect for the king,

† Madame de Maintenon had so little part in the prosecution carried on by Tiberge and Brisacier, that her friendship for them seemed lessened when she saw that they openly opposed the jesuits; however, she was no favourer of that order.

and their sacred habit, hindered from having thrown out of the window.

These reports were not propagated by the archbishop of Cambray, nor ought they to be imputed to him; but by some imprudent partizans of his, who supposed they were doing him a service, and by some of his relations, who thought they increased his fame by making his courage and his fortitude the causes of his misfortunes.

This anecdote never gained credit with those who were acquainted with the court, and knew that it was not probable the king would consult Fenelon upon this affair; or that Fenelon, if consulted, would dissuade him from an action equally indifferent to the good of the state or the honour of the royal family: but it has found a place in so many books*, that at present, notwithstanding its absurdity, it is necessary it should be refuted.

I do not pretend to deny that madame de Maintenon never suffered some wishes

* See the life of the abbé de Cheisi; the history of Lewis XIV. by Limiers, vol. iii. the history of Lewis XIV. by Reboulet, vol. vii. Madame du Noyer's letters; the manuscripts of madame de Bouju, a lady of St. Lewis,

of ascending the throne to escape her; which may well be pardoned, since any other woman in her place would have formed greater hopes, and expressed more ardent desires; and we have not the least proof that she ever aimed at being declared queen. But I must beg leave to offer the following observations to the reader:

This little story is destroyed by what we have just related from the most exact and best attested memoirs; and although we find it in all the compilations, intitled, *the history of Lewis the Fourteenth*, yet it would have fallen in its birth, if madame de Noyer had not given it a place in one of those romantick letters which it is shameful to quote, although they are the source of many anecdotes concerning Lewis XIV. and madame de Maintenon.

Who then is the inventor of this story? Not any person well acquainted with the transactions of the court; not Fenelon, nor madame du Noyer; she only embellished it. The first traces of it may be found in the memoirs of the abbé Phelippeaux, who relates *, that father Gentet, a jesuit, and penitencioner of St. Peter, said publicly at Rome, that the persecution raised a-

* An account of Quietism, part i. page 305.

gainst the archbishop of Cambray was owing to his having opposed the declaration of the king's marriage with madame de Maintenon, to which three bishops, who were his enemies, had consented. Some mistaken friends of Fenelon, hoping to strengthen his party, repeated this fable, which flew from mouth to mouth; but the abbé Phelippeaux, who was then at Rome, and knew every circumstance relating to the affair, treats these reports as malicious falsehoods †.

The year in which this fact is placed destroys all probability of its truth; it is in 1697: but father le Comte was not appointed confessor to the dutchess of Burgundy till the year 1698.

Either the archbishop of Cambray was then confessor to madame de Maintenon, or he was not: if he was, would she have engaged in this affair without consulting him beforehand, and securing his vote in her favour? if he was not, would she have consulted a man with whose conduct she was dissatisfied?

† Ramsay, who attributes the disgrace of the archbishop of Cambray to madame de Maintenon, makes her jealousy of his favour with the king, and not her ambition, the cause of it. The bishop of Agen says, that this disgrace gave rise to many different conjectures, and promises to be more particular concerning it in the sequel of his memoirs, but that sequel is lost.

They who suppose that Lewis XIV. sacrificed the archbishop of Cambray to the resentment of madame de Maintenon, mistake the character of that prince. If Fenelon made those remonstrances to the king which are attributed to him, his favour must necessarily be increased; madame de Maintenon would not have dared to have formed a design of ruining him, and Lewis would never have consented to it; nor were any solicitations used at Rome to procure a sentence against the book of *Maxims*; the French ambassador was devoted to Fenelon.

The pretence of removing the scandal occasioned by the king's intimacy with madame de Maintenon, is weakly imagined. This scandal never existed: madame de Maintenon had given so many proofs of virtue in her youth, so many examples of piety in the court, that it was not probable she would have chose to become frail at an age when others grow more virtuous. Had this pretence been alledged at the beginning of the marriage, it might have had some appearance of truth, but twelve years afterwards it was ridiculous and absurd.

Those who knew madame de Maintenon in her elevation, those who have seen her in her retirement, knew her extreme humility,

humility, her aversion to grandeur, and her love of ease. Is it probable that a woman wholly employed in the care of her salvation, should have been desirous of appearing in her old age in the character of a queen? which would force her from that solitude, and deprive her of that freedom she loved so much. In all her letters she complains of her slavery. How improbable is it then, that she should pine after a slavery still greater?

She had too great an interest in the king's honour, and was perhaps too much influenced by that prevailing prejudice which supposed that honour blemished by a match so disproportionate, to permit Lewis to raise her to a rank, which, after all, would have added nothing to her power, but have made her situation more uneasy, by incumbering it with the fatigue of royalty. If she had been desirous of being declared queen of France, her wishes would have been granted: she was absolute mistress of the heart of Lewis; and they who suppose that Lewis, upon a mere point of honour, could have long resisted her solicitations, are but little acquainted with the power of love.

The story which I have refuted supposes in madame de Maintenon a great desire

to have her marriage made publick, and in the king an inclination to declare it; but how can we reconcile this to the silence of both? The husband died without confiding his secret to any person whatever, and the wife before her death caused all those papers to be burned which might confirm the report of her marriage with the king. How did it happen that madame de Maintenon, if ambitious and vain, as she was said to be, should never suffer any words to escape her which could make her rank suspected? She had often imprudent questions asked her, but on those occasions she always changed the conversation, and defeated all the arts of curiosity.

If any certain proofs of her marriage remain, we owe them to one of her friends who preserved them from the flames: we owe one of them, and that of the greatest consequence, to her humility; it is a letter from the bishop of Chartres to the king, wrote after the peace of Ryswick. Madame de Maintenon was not willing that it should go in her packet on account of the praises that were bestowed upon her; she therefore returned it to the bishop, and it was found amongst his papers by monsieur de Merinville, his successor, who gave it to the community
of

of Saint-Cyr, with orders not to open it till after his decease*.

It was then no longer doubted that madame de Maintenon had formed a design of reigning in France; this story gained such general belief, that it was said, if the battle of Hochstet had not been lost, she would have been declared queen of France.

This report prevailed more generally four years afterwards; and probably it is less difficult to justify madame de Maintenon than Lewis XIV. When Lisle was besieged by Eugene, and defended by Boufflers, the duke of Burgundy who had just lost the battle of Oudenard, advanced to succour that city: the duke de Vendôme, whom the prince had orders to obey, made so fine a disposition of his troops, that it was not possible for the allies to escape him; he dispatched a courier to the king, to prepare him for an event which must necessarily finish the war. When the king heard this news he went to the apartment of madame de Maintenon, and in the first transports of his joy he said to her, 'Your prayers are granted madam; Vendôme holds my

* See the pieces justificative.

‘ enemies inclosed ; Lisle will be delivered,
‘ and you shall be queen of France.’

These words were heard and repeated ; they came to the knowledge of the dauphin ; he trembled for the honour of the royal family, and, to ward off the blow with which it was threatened, he wrote to the duke of Burgundy, who loved his father as much as he feared his king, that at his return he would find two masters.

The dutchess of Burgundy conjured her husband not to contribute by his valour to the giving her for her sovereign, a woman who was too meanly born to be her servant. The prince, overcome by these intreaties, hindered Lisle from being succoured.

This fact, which appeared doubtful to all those who were acquainted with the state of the court in the last years of Lewis XIV. is too generally believed to be absolutely rejected. It is certain that all Europe attributed Vendôme’s retreat to the apprehensions of the dauphin, and the too ready obedience of his son. This report was spread even among foreigners, which occasioned those billets which the enemies threw among us, *Be easy, French-*
men ;

men; she shall not be your queen; we will not raise the siege.

It is not improbable that Lewis, in the first emotions of joy which the certainty of an unhoped-for victory gave him, a victory which would place him above his enemies, and above prejudice, should offer, or promise the throne to madame de Maintenon; but it is very improbable that she should have expected, contrived, or even accepted of this offer; and perhaps it is to her apprehensions of success that we must attribute these words in one of her letters to madame du Perou, after the siege of Lisle: *Our princes have escaped a misfortune, which, in their opinions, is worse than death.*

In this particular fact, history does not accuse her, and her character justifies her: at that time also she was seventy-two years old; and surely that is not an age to be dazzled with the splendor of royalty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The true cause of Fenelon's disgrace.

THE archbishop of Cambray shewed no great sollicitude to appear again at court, nor did the king seem desirous of recalling him: Lewis suspected that he had condemned his book rather through obedience than conviction: madame de Maintenon durst not plead for him, either because she now looked upon him as a dangerous man, who had twice deceived her, or because she was afraid of rekindling the king's anger against a friend whose doctrine had suffered the taint of heresy, than which nothing could be more dishonourable in the eyes of Lewis.

Fenelon, while preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, had composed for the instruction of his pupil a moral romance, in which he united the majesty of Homer with the elegance of Virgil, and all the charms of fable with all the energy of truth. Under his flowing pen our language acquired new graces, the rights of the people had a defender, virtue a panegyrist,

gyrist, and good kings a model. The great principles of policy unveiled and put in motion, prepared the French nation for more glorious days, under a prince who was formed for their happiness. Fenelon did not imagine that this book would become so fatal to its author, and so useful to the world.

A celebrated writer * supposes that Fenelon wrote his *Telemachus* during his retirement; he must therefore be ignorant that the first edition of this work appeared in 1699, the same year when his dispute with Bossuet ended. How was it possible for so long a poem to be designed, wrote, stolen, and printed, in the space of a few months?

Nor is it more likely that this poem was composed in 1695, than in 1699. The cares of the episcopate, the book of *Maxims*, the apprehensions of being dismissed from court, the process at Rome, all gave Fenelon too much employment, to permit him to write so long a romance, and to compose it with scarce a blot † in the whole.

* Voltaire's age of Lewis XIV.

† Ibid. This author says that he had seen the manuscript, and that there is scarce ten blots in the whole. The family corrected the style in every edition.

Although his cotemporaries * had not told us that it was wrote for the duke of Burgundy while yet a child, it is evident, that we must place the composition of this work, at a time when Fenelon had that leisure which the muses demand, that intimate connexion with the court, to which we owe so many striking pictures, that vigorous youth which so rapidly pursues its purpose, that sensibility which seizes the passions, enlivens the style, and sports with the graces.

The duke of Burgundy earnestly intreated the king to recal Fenelon. The king was so far from complying, that he forbid the duke to hold any correspondence with him. The preceptor and the pupil disobeyed; Fenelon's letters to the prince passed through the hands of the duke de Beauvilliers. *The directions for the Conscience of a King* † were the fruits of this concealed correspondence. There the duties of a sovereign were boldly painted, the vain chimeras of independent power destroyed, and the observation of the laws, the love of virtue, and the mutual respect between the monarch and his subjects,

* Memoirs of the bishop of Agen.

† Since published by monsieur de St. Felix.

made the foundation of public happiness.

This work, which was discovered to be in the duke of Burgundy's possession, filled Lewis with indignation; he was surprised to see the picture of a good king, and grieved that that picture was not his own.

Fenelon from time to time reviewed the adventures of Telemachus; and gave the loose sheets to a valet de chambre to transcribe, who took a copy for himself. The archbishop having dismissed this domestick upon some disgust, he made several copies of the work which he had stolen, and sold them to the curious. Several persons of the highest distinction, met at each other's houses to hear it read: they were never satisfied with praising the beauties which they found in it, and those which they imagined they found. The archbishop of Cambray purchased all the copies he could find, in order to suppress the book, not because he thought it dangerous, but because he considered it as imperfect. The valet de chambre, to satisfy the eager curiosity of the public, caused it to be published in parts.

The

The first part inspired an eager impatience for the following ones. In fifteen months twenty editions of it were sold. It was said that the *The Maxims of the Saints* was a romance, and that the romance was the maxims of kings. The publick discovered it to be a satire against the government; they made applications: Calypso was the marchioness of Montespan; Eucharis, mademoiselle de Fontange; Telemachus, the duke of Burgundy; Mentor, the duke de Beauvilliers; Antiope, the dutchess of Burgundy; the character of Protefilaus resembled that of Louvois; Idomeneus was king James; and Sesostris, Lewis XIV.

This book had enemies of every kind. The men of letters, who had been forced to join the general applause, through envy criticised the anachronisms *, the careless phrases, the frequent repetitions, and had the mortification to find their criticisms refuted by the publick contempt. The Devotees were displeased to see an ecclesiastick giving the amours of Calypso and Eucharis, for the first lessons to the heir of the

* MSS. memoirs of the bishop of Agen.

crown; and the Antiquetists reported, that Fenelon, in revenge for his dismissal from court, made use of the grandfather's faults, to form instructions for the conduct of the grandson. Madame de Maintenon, says Hébert *, was the first who directed the king to this invidious inference; but this is not probable.

The archbishop of Cambray was grieved at the success of his book; the courtier and the author equally suffered, the author from the imperfections in the work, the courtier from the imputation of satire. The king read it; and either through prejudice, or the secret whispers of conscience, he saw himself throughout the whole. One day he said, in the presence of Fagon and Felix, 'I knew by the book of *Maxims*, that the archbishop of Cambray had a weak head; but till I read the *Adventures of Telemachus*, I did not know that he had a bad heart. No one ever carried ingratitude farther; he has endeavoured in every page of that book, to decry my reign †.

Fagon and Felix represented to him, that the malignity was not in the book, but the readers; that nothing was more easy

* MSS. memoirs of the bishop of Agen. † Ibid.
than

than to attribute satirical strokes against the government to historians and moralists, who were best affected to it; that it was not possible to accuse the author of having described his majesty, since he had painted only bad kings; and that, abstracted from his designs, which only God could certainly know, all the objections of envy and malice might be silenced, by asking, whether it were not to be wished, that the duke of Burgundy should resemble Telemachus?

These bold truths reflected great honour on the first physician and surgeon, but could not convince the king. Hébert informed Fenelon of this conversation, who in vain repeated what his friends had before said in his defence. In vain, in a letter to madame de Maintenon, he represented to her, that by putting a fabulous history in the hands of the princes, his design had been to keep them free from the faults connected with their station, and to inspire them with virtues suitable to their rank; and that such pictures, which in him it was a crime to draw, he could point out in every book of that kind. All his arguments were ineffectual to clear him of designed satire; when princes have once violated truth, they never repair their fault. Fenelon was by the wife, looked upon as a vic-

tim

tim devoted, in spite of himself, to the publick good.

The jesuits, however, still entertained hopes of his being restored to favour; they knew his sincere attachment to them; and they had given proofs of their gratitude, by the severe punishment they inflicted on father de la Rue, for having declaimed against him in the pulpit.

Father de la Chaise lost no opportunity of softening the king; the virtues of the archbishop of Cambray furnished him with many. This prelate resigned fifteen thousand livres a year out of his revenue to relieve the curates of his diocese from the heavy burthen of the free gift: a burthen so little felt by the superiour clergy, so oppressive to the inferiour. The confessor extolled this sacrifice to the king, who heard it, and was silent.

The garrison of Cambray revolted on account of its being ill paid. The archbishop sold all his lands to furnish money for the arrears, and calmed the sedition. The king appeared unmoved with a service so important in a frontier city, surrounded with enemies, and still fond of its antient masters. Notwithstanding this inflexibility the Jesuits never ceased to remind

mind him, that the archbishop of Cambray had rejected with horreur the offers made him by the Jansenists, of their labours, their pens, their friends, and their interest, in support of his book, at a time when he was overwhelmed on all sides.

They informed the king of the extreme attention shewn by the archbishop to the sick officers; of his benevolence to the soldiers; his endeavours to retain the people in their duty; his zeal in opposing father Quesnel; and in converting the duke of Orleans: but not all his virtues could induce the king to pardon the writer who accused him of having for fifty years mistaken the principles of the art of reigning.

Madame de Maintenon was silent; but she never ceased to love the illustrious and unfortunate Fenelon. When mademoiselle d'Osmond married the marquis d'Havrincourt, among other instructions for her conduct, she advised her to see the bishop of Arras often, whose piety and disinterestedness the king greatly esteemed; but being informed that Havrincourt was in the diocese of Cambray, 'Ah, daughter!' said she, in a tone that expressed great satisfaction, but with a mysterious look, 'how happy are you to be so near
that

‘ that man ! do what I advised you with
‘ regard to monsieur d’ Arras : see him
‘ often, but never mention it.’

When the duke of Burgundy entered Flanders, the archbishop of Cambray went post to meet him at the place where the duke stopped to dine. The archbishop presented him the napkin, which the duke received very gravely ; he stood behind his chair, and said something to enliven the conversation ; but the prince shewed no attention to him. All who were present were concerned at a silence so mortifying for the prelate ; but the duke of Burgundy, saluting him when he rose from table, said, ‘ Adieu, monsieur, I am
‘ sensible of the obligations I have to you ;
‘ and you know my sentiments with regard to you.’

Others pretend that he said to him, ‘ I
‘ have done all that I could ; but hope
‘ still.’ They added, that certain persons, who were well acquainted with the state of affairs, comprehended the meaning of these words ; and that the Jansenists feigned to extend it to some supposed accommodation for the peace of the church, which they said had been projected by the duke of Burgundy and the archbishop of Cambray :

bray: but the first words are certainly true. I heard them from the marchioness de ****, who was present, and who said to the archbishop of Cambray. 'These words deserve to be recorded in your archives.'

Fenelon, finding that all the avenues of the court were shut against him, expected in the exercise of his duty the time when they should again be opened to him. Death snatched him from his country and from the church, both of which incessantly required him, and at the moment when the wishes of both were going to be granted. The king was very little moved with the excellent letter which Fenelon in his last moments had written to father le Tellier. 'Then he is dead,' said the king, 'that man who always repaid my kindness to him with ingratitude.'

These words are very different from those which were attributed to madame de Maintenon. 'He died,' said she, 'very unfortunately for the church and for himself; the king would soon have recalled him, and he would have been very useful to us in the present troublesome situation of affairs.'

How-

However that may be, if he had survived the king, it is highly probable that the regent, who loved him, would have given him a share in the administration. Princes, in whom imagination is predominant, are ever ready to employ men of genius.



BOOK



BOOK THE TWELFTH.

CHAPTER I.

The state of France.

1695.

THE king took towns, gained battles, supported singly the united efforts of all Europe against him, and wished only for peace. He no longer hoped to re-establish king James upon the throne of England. The battle of the Boyne secured the crown to William. France, drained of men and money, was perishing with hunger in the midst of bonfires and repeated *Te Deums*. Recruits were raised with great difficulty, the supplies of money were uncertain, and obtained by shameful expedients, the manufactures

factures were ruined, paper-money substituted in the room of specie, the debts of the state increased by the extreme difficulty of raising loans, the scarcity of corn almost universal. The people cursed those victories, which always foretold a new tax. The Jew Sacerdoti * and Huguetan the bookseller had long supported the court and the army of France; but the former was now detained in prison at Genoa for debt, and the latter had quitted the kingdom with several millions in his possession †.

Madame de Maintenon, who trembled at the remembrance of the dangerous illness with which Lewis was seized at Quesnoi,

* The king, to secure him for the future from those insults, gave him a brevet, by which he acknowledged him every where for his ambassador; and by that means he enjoyed the right of nations in all its extent.

† Huguetan was born in the province of Lyons; he took refuge in Holland on account of his religion, and acquired a great fortune there, by selling Breviaries and Mass-Books. Lewis the Fourteenth trusted and employed him, notwithstanding his being a Calvinist. Monsieur de Pontchartrain having forced him to sign letters of exchange for several millions of money, Huguetan, by the same courier, revoked the orders which had been extorted from him, and retired to the Hague,

Quésnoi, always dreaded those campaigns and sieges where the most valuable life was equally exposed with the meanest. She knew that he looked upon William as

where he married the natural daughter of a prince of Nassau, and obtained the government of Viane, the sacred asylum of bankrupts. The king gave captain Gautier a commission to bring him off by force. Huguetan was betrayed into the power of this officer, by his valet de chambre, and conducted to the last town in Holland, cross canals, with which this country is full. The last barrier was opened, when a soldier, who had perceived a silk gown at the moment when Gautier came out of the coach to give some necessary orders, advanced and opened the the coach-door, that he might see the fair lady whom the travellers concealed so carefully; but, instead of a woman, he saw a man with a night-cap on his head, a gag in his mouth, and irons on his hands. The barrier was instantly shut; Gautier and his sergeants were seized and beheaded. Huguetan offered his service to England; but was rejected: and afterwards to the court of Vienna, who created him a baron. He wandered through several kingdoms, always pursued by his fears and by the comptroller-general; and at length settled in Hambourg, where he introduced a system of trade which greatly impoverished that city. The magistrates having intreated him to depart, he carried his wealth and his schemes to Denmark, where he gave a proof of what one man is capable

as an enemy worthy of him; and that he thought there was nothing wanting to compleat his glory, but to vanquish him in a pitched battle. She was continually advising

pable of doing. He polished that barbarous country: he established maritime companies of silk and linen manufactures, and a bank a little more solid than that of Law. He was consulted in all affairs, although employed in none; he brought the wise principles of the administration of the finances and trade into such esteem, that the most jealous republicks confided in the probity of this government, although purely despotick. Frederick IV. erected the lands of Guldesteen into an earldom for him and his descendants, and Huguetaun took the title of it. He obtained the post of chamberlain, and was afterwards honoured with the white ribbon of the order of Danebrog. He lived with great magnificence, increased his riches like a merchant, and spent them like a nobleman. Having quarrelled with a minister of Christian VI. he retired to his estate in Holstein, and made so great a vacuity at Copenhagen, that he was honourably recalled. I saw him when he was an hundred and three years old; but he was then thought the most amiable man of his time in conversation: in council, the wisest; in commerce the most active and prudent, and remarkably compassionate to the poor. Although he laid the foundation of his fortune by selling books, yet he had read no author but Rabelais; although persecuted by the court of France in every country where he took refuge, yet it was

advising him to conclude a peace, which alone could free her from her apprehensions of his safety, secure the publick happiness, and relieve the great numbers of unfortunate persons, with whom she was surrounded. She sold her jewels and her houses, probably as much to shew the king the extreme poverty of the people as to succour those who applied to her.

The ministers came over to her opinion, but especially the duke de Beauvillieres, the most virtuous man in the court; Pontchartrain desired peace, because he was weary of seeking money in a country where trade was ruined; Barbezieux, because business intruded upon pleasures, which he loved to excess; even king James, who shewed more impatience to have some English horses, than to reascend his throne, joined with the ministers in declaring for peace.

The king, by whom it was no less ardently desired, employed Harlay, Creci,

France only that he loved. His only daughter was carried off by the marquis de Montel  on, the Spanish ambassador. He refused to give one of his granddaughters in marriage to a prince of the royal blood of Denmark. His death, which happened in 1750. was occasioned by grief, for not obtaining the blue ribbon of the order of the Elephant.

and

and Callieres *, in a secret negotiation for that purpose. He levied excessive imposts, but he gave very considerable pensions, and greatly retrenched the expences of his household. He laboured incessantly with his ministers, and spent very little ; his application to business reanimated his generals, and his frugality consoled his people. He could not resolve to punish deserters with death, notwithstanding all the representations that were made to him by his officers, in support of this salutary severity. The marquis de Nangis, being reprimanded by the king for not having his regiment complete, said, ‘ Sire, it never will be so, till deserters are punished with death.’ ‘ Ah ! Nangis,’ replied the king, ‘ those deserters are men.’ To the intendant of Flanders he said, ‘ The news you sent me last year was very melancholy, and many severe things were done : continue, I entreat you, to give me information of all that passes ; I would know the truth, however painful that truth may be to me.’

Both artifice and force were employed in making new levies. The soldiers quar-

* Of the French academy, and plenipotentiary at the congress of Ryswick. He wrote a treatise upon the art of negotiation, which proves that he neither knew how to negotiate nor to write.

tered in Paris, carried off men who were fit to bear arms, shut them up in certain houses, and sold them to the officers. These houses were called ovens, and they had thirty of them in the capital. The king, being informed of this violation of publick liberty, which the magistrate had not dared to repress, for fear of displeasing him, caused the soldiers, who had thus forcibly enlisted men, to be seized, commanded that they should be tried with all the rigour of the laws, gave liberty to all those who had lost it by violence or fraud, and declared, that he would be served by soldiers and not slaves.

How easy it is for a king to be adored by his people ! in France especially. These acts of justice or of goodness, filled the city of Paris with such affection for its sovereign, that the poll-tax, which was then considered as the last resource of the state, was now the only hope of the farmers of the revenue. New imposts are never collected well the first year. Between the suspicious collector and the artful proprietor, there is a kind of opposition formed, which regulates the payment in a manner very disadvantageous to the former. The subjects were now so fully persuaded that this impost would end with the war, that they shewed an extreme eagerness to pay it.

The

The Swiss, who had settled in the kingdom, sent a deputation to the king, to intreat that they might be comprehended in the poll-tax, they being no less faithfully devoted to the state, than the French themselves. The footmen ran in crouds to the town-house with the same request: certainly, if it is incumbent upon a prince to repay the fidelity of his subjects with affection, an impost established in such circumstances, for a certain time only, and paid with such emulative chearfulness, ought not to be eternal; and will not be so, if we are ever so happy, as to have a superintendant of the finances, who knows that it is oppressive.

The allies had still all their forces entire, and had lost nothing but a few towns. They had taken Pondicherry; they were settled in Flanders; in Germany they were acting with renewed vigour; Dauphiné was laid waste; and we were threatened on all sides. The new invented infernal machine only terrified with its noise, but Dieppe was reduced to ashes. The duke of Savoy had taken Casal; and William had made himself master of Namur: Villeroi and the duke of Maine lost a fine opportunity of vanquishing the prince of Vaudemont, and of gaining lasting glory; marshal Noailles took all the cities in Catalonia which he attacked; but this

success had no consequences; in a word, both parties seemed to be weary of fighting, and made war as if they were soon to make peace.

CHAPTER II.

The dutchess of Burgundy.

1696.

CAtinat, equally great in politicks as in war, treated with the duke of Savoy while he beat him. That prince, whose resolutions were always directed by his prevailing interest, accepted the neutrality which was offered him; and betrayed his allies, at first with the same artifice, and afterwards with the same insolence, that he had betrayed France. Pignerol and all that had been taken from him, were to be restored. His eldest daughter was demanded in marriage for the duke of Burgundy; all the honours due to crowned heads were granted to him, as if the king of France had the right, so long contested with the pope and the emperor*, of raising the dignity of sovereigns.

This

* Four years afterwards, at the marriage of Leopo'd duke of Lorrain with mademoiselle de Chartres, he would

This treaty was kept secret till the duke of Savoy was in a condition to declare the alliance with advantage to himself. He had only promised his good offices towards hastening the peace; and he now gave his army; he besieged Valence with Catinat, and signed the contract for the marriage of his daughter.

The princess of Savoy * at length arrived at Montargis, where the court was waiting for her. The king, taking her in his arms, carried her into a church, and made an offering of her to God, who alone could guard her against the corruption of the court. He was so pleased with her at this first interview, that he wrote that very evening to madame de Maintenon, who had staid at Fontainebleau, and expressed himself in terms very favourable for the young princess. The court returned to Fontainebleau the next day; the princess of Savoy did not forget the instructions of her mother, who had earnestly re-

would not acknowledge the title of royal highness, which this prince assumed upon a patent from the emperor, who gave it him in consideration of his being the son of an archduchess who was queen of Poland.

* Maria Adelaïda of Savoy, born December 6, 1685.

commended it to her to shew great respect to madame de Maintenon, to be obedient to her instructions, and endeavour to acquire her friendship. The little princess was lavish of her caresses to her ; and from the first moment, gained her tenderest affection. The princess of Savoy was formed to please ; she had all the lustre of the most finished beauty, though her features were not absolutely regular ; her forehead and mouth were too large ; her face was too small for her features, but age gave proportion and grace to all ; she had large eyes full of fire ; their glances were sometimes fierce and haughty, but she had great sensibility in her countenance, a beautiful complexion, a shape perfectly fine, that air of majesty which at the first sight commands respect, those graces which always charm, and that artless wit, which is always the best judge of what is good and fine.

Such was, or such became the princess, who was destined for a wife to the duke of Burgundy. My foreign readers will scarce pardon me this picture, nor what follows ; it belongs only to the French, to be sensible to the pleasure of praising the mother of their king.

Lewis knew too well the talents madame de Maintenon possessed for the education

cation of children, not to wish that she would charge herself with that of the princess Adelaïda. He made her sensible, that it was his desire she would undertake this task, but he did not insist upon it: he might have commanded, he only intreated. An employment, which, to any other lady in the kingdom, would have been the highest honour and the most valued recompence, it was thought a favour for madame de Maintenon to accept, which sufficiently proves, that her rank was incompatible with any employment about a princess.

The princess of Savoy seemed to understand that rank perfectly well; she did not think it was too great a hazard to give her the tender name of aunt, at first in imitation of mademoiselle d'Aubigné, afterwards through affection and respect, with which the king was the first to inspire her. She happened one day to seat herself in the corner of the room where madame de Maintenon usually sat, 'Rise,' said the king to her, 'don't you know you are in Madame's place?'

The more valuable the trust, the greater perplexity it gave madame de Maintenon; she hesitated between her inclination and her fears. When she looked upon the

young princess, whom she regarded as the angel of peace, she was tempted to accept of it; when she considered that if she undertook her education, she would be obliged to associate with the world, which she had quitted, she was upon the point of refusing it. The bishop of Chartres, whom she consulted upon this occasion, was sensible of the ill consequences of her refusal; and ordered her, with all the authority his function gave him a right to exert, to take the young princess under her care, fully convinced that no person was so proper to form a queen, as a woman who had raised herself to that rank. The dutchess of Savoy joined her intreaties to the king's, and madame de Maintenon at length consented.

The tender age of the princess confided to her care, gave her hopes which a more advanced one did not deceive. She made it a duty to cultivate so many growing virtues; but inclination soon added a sweeter force; she loved the princess, and was tenderly beloved by her.

She thought a publick education would be advantageous to the princess of Savoy, it having been always her opinion, that the faults of princesses were generally owing to their being brought up in private state, where they saw only flatterers in their teachers,

teachers, and slaves in their attendants. At Saint-Cyr she thought the princess would acquire the manners of the French; that a numerous society would give her a taste for social virtues; that she would be induced to love piety, by seeing it there full of simplicity, candour, and peace; that she would improve by exercises, in which her rank or inclination might be equally studied; and that she would there learn at least to know her equals, to please them, to reprove them, to defend and reward them, and a thousand things, which are not to be learned at court.

To effect this, it was necessary that the young princess should be made to love Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon prepared her an agreeable entry. The community in long robes received her in ceremony; the superiour made her an elegant compliment; the young ladies, ranged on each side, made a lane for her till she came to the church, whither she was first conducted. After *Te Deum* was sung, she went up to the classes: some young ladies of her own age repeated a conversation before her, ingenious enough to amuse her, and in which she was praised without adulation. The princess was so charmed with her reception at Saint-Cyr, and with every thing she heard and saw there, that she would
never

never afterwards suffer madame de Maintenon to go without her.

She went to Saint-Cyr constantly three times a week, and staid there from nine o'clock in the morning till night. She soon had favourites among the young ladies. Mademoiselle d'Osmond held one of the first places in her heart: it was not possible to make a better choice; to love mademoiselle d'Osmond was to love beauty, the graces, gentleness, and truth: but mademoiselle d'Aubigné, being the niece of madame de Maintenon, effaced all the others. Their studies, their sports, their exercises, their dress, their inclinations, were the same; and their familiarity went so far, as to make them quarrel and even to fight.

The splendour, the honours, the pleasures of the court, all disgusted the princess of Savoy, and Saint-Cyr only could please her. Sometimes she would appear in the dress of a lady of Saint Lewis, but generally in that of a young lady. In this disguise she was always called mademoiselle de Lastic, the name of an illustrious family which she chose herself.

In this habit, she would go to the house-keeper's apartment, where she was initiated
into

into the arts of economy ; to the steward's-office, where she learned to understand business ; to the noviciate, where she heard an exhortation ; to the classes, where, by obeying, she learned how to command ; charmed when they feigned not to consider her rank, she would perform all the offices, be extremely busy, suppose herself necessary, despise the luxury and idleness of Versailles, and became that Antiope which Minerva forms for Telemachus. Sometimes she would raise herself to be mistress of the classes ; and in this character, she would hear them repeat the catechism, and consequently learned it herself : she enlivened their studies, she varied their amusements, she acquired an extreme facility in speaking, she permitted questions to be proposed, and even to herself, which she always answered with great justness.

One of the young ladies having asked her whether the dead should at the last day rise with the bodies they had on earth ? The princess was a little embarrassed, but recollecting herself, ‘ These sort of questions,’ said she, ‘ ought never to be proposed ; our business is to get to heaven ; we are not to trouble ourselves about what they do there.’ Another of the young ladies having thrown a bird while alive into the fire, she shewed, by a severe reprimand,

mand, how greatly she detested such cruelty.

To these sentiments of tenderness and humanity, madame de Maintenon was desirous of adding the inclination and the talent of conferring benefits agreeably. She often represented to her, that liberality was a virtue, which belonged in a peculiar manner to princes; and to accustom her to it, she made her distribute little presents among the young ladies. The great seldom think of bestowing favours, they always wait for solicitations; and often bold and insolent vice seizes those rewards, which are due to modest and doubting virtue. Princes seldom consider what will be acceptable to their favourites; they must be informed in a petition, or by a word dexterously introduced; they are mere poppets danced by other hands, and subjected to foreign movements.

Madame de Maintenon taught the princess to observe every thing with attention, to treasure up hints in her memory, to be beforehand with requests, to soften refusals, to bestow praise seasonably, to penetrate into the designs or inclination of all about her, to confer favours in that graceful manner which enhances their value, to shed her benefactions on persons astonished that

that their necessities or desires were known, to reward her domesticks for an act of duty, or an expression of affection, which they did not believe had been observed; in a word, all those little attentions, those graceful trifles, without which princes can never deserve to have friends.

Mean while the day fixed for the celebration of her marriage drew near; and the candidates for the principal employments in her household, divided the interest of the court. The dutchesses de Beauvillieres, de Crequi, de Ventadour, and du Lude, claimed the first place about the princess; madame de Beauvillieres was rejected, under pretence of her ill state of health, but in reality on account of her being a Quietist; madame de Crequi was thought too old; madame de Ventadour was excluded, on account of the bad conduct of her sisters; madame du Lude, a woman who was rather free from vices than eminent for virtue, was appointed lady of honour; madame de Caylus solicited for the post of *dame d'autour*; but she was a Jansenist, and the countess de Mailly was preferred to her. The count de Tessé, remarkable for the easy politeness of his manners, was made first equerry; the marquis de Dangeau knight of honour; the marquis de Villacerf first master of the household;

household; Vieuville secretary; Bourdelot first physician; and the bishop of Meaux first almoner. When this prelate kneeled to the princess to take the usual oath, 'I am ashamed,' said she to him, 'to see so wise a man at my feet.'

The choice of a confessor for the princess took up the king's whole attention. The confessor is the only person at court, who can claim a right to be sincere; and it was no easy matter, to find a man who had resolution enough to make use of this right, or candour enough not to abuse it.

Father de la Chaize presented a list of several Jesuits to the king, all of them men of great learning and acknowledged virtue. Father Emerick was among them: madame de Maintenon and cardinal de Noailles openly recommended him; and the king was inclined to appoint him. Father de la Chaize, either because he thought that an austere man would not be agreeable to a young princess, or because he was jealous of the reputation such a man would acquire in a devout court, endeavoured to exclude him, by telling the king, that he was too scrupulous. Madame de Maintenon was enraged at these words. When the confessor retired, she observed to the king, that the reason he gave for excluding father

father Emerick, was highly indecent, treacherous, and malicious. Father de la Chaise returned a few hours afterwards, and, with a look of eagerness and anxiety, told the king, that he had just discovered father Emerick to be a Jansenist. Madame de Maintenon groaned and was silent: she might have said many severe things; but this phantom of Jansenism was so terrible to the king, that she durst not venture to remove his suspicion, lest she should be treated like a Jansenist herself.

When she reflected upon the great number of persons, whom the bare suspicion of Jansenism, and that often very unjust, had ruined; upon the prejudice father de la Chaise entertained against all who were remarkably devout, supposing them heretics; upon the misunderstanding there was between herself and him; upon the hatred and distrust of the society which she had incurred, and was sufficiently proved by their deputing the fathers Bourdaloue and de la Rue to her, with a formal petition that she would be pleased to take them into favour, she thought herself happy that the formulary was not presented to her to sign. Father la Comte was appointed confessor to the princess; but she conceived so great a dislike to him, that the king permitted her

her to chuse any confessor she pleased, provided he was of the order of the Jesuits.

It was debated, whether maids of honour should be again established. The king was very desirous they should, under pretence that young ladies would enliven the court, but in reality because that at an age when we are no longer capable of enjoying the pleasures of youth, the presence of young persons is necessary, to recal the remembrance of them.

Madame de Maintenon, who had not forgot the frailty of the maids of honour, in the courts of the queen and the dutchess of Orleans, gave her vote for ladies of the palace; and the king, either in complaisance to her, or through reflexion on the past, soon became of her opinion.

Saint-Cyr afforded young ladies enough to amuse the princess; Madame de Maintenon had always some of the genteest and most sensible with her; she had successively mademoiselle de Castéja, afterwards madame de la Lande, sub-governess to the children of France, and worthy of so important an employment; mademoiselle de Tonnancourt, who was sent away because she had some little designs upon the king, which she
had

had suffered to be perceived, by sliding her ring into one of his sleeves ; mademoiselle de Bouju, who had a greater taste for the convent than the court ; mademoiselle de Normanville, who married the president Brunet ; mademoiselle d'Osmond, gay, lovely, witty, afterwards married to the marquis d'Havrincourt, to whom she brought a portion of a hundred thousand franks, the government of Hesden, a happy fertility, and the hope that his services would not go unrewarded ; and lastly, mademoiselle d'Aumale, adorned with every perfection except beauty, which she would have despised if she had possessed it ; so attached to madame de Maintenon, that she refused a brave general officer, who, upon her account, had been raised to the first honours in the kingdom. ' You are young,' said the king to her, ' and you refuse a marshal of France ; but when you are old, you will be glad to marry a mousquetaire.' So esteemed by the monarch, that the ladies de Caylus and Dangéau used to say, ' Let us make our court to mademoiselle d'Aumale ; if madame de Maintenon should die, we will be glad we have done it.'

The nuptials of the duke of Burgundy ^{Déc. 7,} and the princess of Savoy, were celebrated ^{1697.} with great magnificence ; and the shews
and

and entertainments that were made on this occasion, were the last which raised and satisfied the curiosity of foreigners. The dutchess of Burgundy, fatigued with compliments upon her marriage, replied to a courtier, 'What you have said to me is wonderfully fine, but thank heaven one does not marry every day.'

She had the art of painting in a single word. Of the duke and dutchess of Harcourt she said, 'Whenever I see them, I think I see courage married to virtue.' 'Madame de Montespan,' said she, 'has the tongue of a serpent, in the head of a dove.'

Madame de Maintenon was afraid of her abusing this dangerous talent, and that by being sincere, she would appear satirical: she was also apprehensive of the taste she discovered for wit, so hated by the king, and so seldom joined with a solid understanding. To guard her against these defects, she removed from her the trifling youth of the court, and engaged her often in her own apartments. There was play there every evening; the princess of Harcourt, the dutchess de Guiche, the marchioness de Dangeau, the countess de Grammont, constantly attended these assemblies, where the king's presence constrained no one but the dauphin.

Although

Although this regulation subjected madame de Maintenon to great expences, yet she never desired to be indemnified by the king; and what was still more honourable for her, he never offered it. However, she suffered some uneasiness, at being obliged to give to the pleasures of the court, those sums which her charity had destined to the relief of the poor; and to console herself, it was necessary she should suppose that, by falling into the hands of the courtiers, they became a kind of alms.

Madame du Lude scarce quitted the dutchess of Burgundy a moment; every night one of her spies gave madame de Maintenon an account of the transactions of the day. All who approached the princess, concurred in their endeavours to make her an accomplished woman. If she failed in the performance of any duty, she was instantly informed of it, by the uneasiness that was spread on every face; the joy of her attendants shewed her when she had fulfilled them, and excited her to perseverance: absent or present, madame de Maintenon was always found between her, and the dangerous snares of a court.

She improved her understanding, by lessons that seemed dictated by wisdom herself.
She

She taught her to know the human heart, by making observations on the different characters of the courtiers, or on the various incidents of the day. She gave her in writing, the most judicious rules for forming her conduct; she involved truth in ingenious fictions, and in the mouth of a christian philosopher, she put the justest maxims of true happiness; she sought to communicate all her own experience to her beloved pupil: the understanding of princes is a plant which cannot be too carefully nourished.

The dutchess of Burgundy now visited Saint-Cyr more seldom, but she always retained her fondness for it; and she has been seen to weep at Fontainebleau, because she was not at liberty to amuse herself in a place where she found every pleasure, by ceasing to be a princess. She one day did the honours of Saint-Cyr, when the king visited that community, and received the king and queen of England there in the habit of a lady of saint Lewis; and she is in this habit, in the best picture we have of her.

Madame de Maintenon used her utmost endeavours to confirm the princess in her taste for Saint-Cyr, as well to guard her against errors, by the remembrance of the virtues

virtues she acquired there, as to secure to this community a protectress, who well knew its usefulness to the state, and might extend its ability to do good.

The dutchess of Burgundy being disgusted with her confessor, resolved, either through curiosity or inclination, to try a confessor of Saint-Cyr; and conscious that at the tribunal of penitence, she was still too much a princess, she was very desirous of not being known. Mademoiselle d'Osmond her favourite, recommended her own confessor to her, as a very pious, wise, and moderate man. The princess was discovered by the rustling of her rich robes, when she threw herself at his feet. The rigid confessor having reprimanded her severely for some little errors in her conduct, 'Ah! D'Osmond,' said she to her confidant, 'you have deceived me; he is terrible.' She ran to madame de Maintenon's apartment. 'Aunt,' said she, 'I have at last found an excellent confessor; he has chid me severely, but with so much wisdom, that I will never have any other confessor but him.' However, she never went to him again: the second resolution perhaps was dictated by truth; the first and the last are seldom uninfluenced by pride.

The duke of Burgundy, the most virtuous of princes, the most tender and passionate of husbands, consumed in love for the dutchess, and languished for the period that was to give her to his wishes. The lovers were not allowed to live together, till the expiration of two years, on account of their extreme youth ; but they continually sought opportunities of being alone together, often escaped their importunate spies, and always separated with regret.

Madame du Lude exerted all her art to keep them asunder. The prince claimed the rights of Hymen, the princess softly pleaded these of Love. At length they abridged the appointed time; and all France was transported at it, as if it had foreseen the beloved monarch these two children should one day give it. The people could not see them, without taking an interest in their happiness. The dutchess possessed virtues at an age, when the promise of them is scarcely expected; and the duke, by nature cholerick, rash, and covetous, was, by the cares of Fenelon and Beauvillieres, become the gentlest, the most benevolent, and most generous of men. His revenues were the riches of the poor; the money destined for his pleasures,

tures, he distributed among old officers : he was accessible to every one ; he thought nothing beneath his enquiry ; and he remembered all. With regard to the ease and happiness of the people, he had views surprising in a prince of seventeen years of age, and unhappily too surprising in princes of every age. Lewis adored him, notwithstanding that aversion which all kings naturally have to a son, who has the heart of a citizen.

CHAPTER III.

The peace of Ryswick.

FOUR treaties signed at Ryswick, without any difficulties, and almost without objections, gave peace to Europe. The king restored to the emperor and to the king of Spain, all that he had taken from them, and all that had been re-united to the crown, by the chambers of Metz and Brisac.

The English plenipotentiaries were bold enough to propose in the conferences, that the king of England should be driven out

of France. Lewis answered only with these words, ' Great Britain shall never ' have peace of me at this price.' They were sensible of the great indecency of this proposal ; and confined themselves to, the demand of removing him from Saint-Germains, on account of its contiguity to Versailles. Lewis, enraged that they should presume to prescribe him rules for his conduct in his own kingdom, replied, ' The king and queen of England are unfortunate, and are my friends.'

The restitution of so many conquests, gave Lewis less uneasiness than that article, by which he acknowledged William for the lawful king of Great Britain ; he had always considered him as his personal enemy, and the general enemy of all kings : however, he was pleased with the esteem and respect which the usurper expressed for him. ' It is not just for the king of ' France,' said William, ' to hate me ; for ' no one has praised him more than I have ' done : when he made any new regulation among his troops, I have immediately copied it ; any new step of his, ' any extraordinary council, gave me uneasiness ; I have imitated him on many ' occasions, I have feared him on many ' more, and I admire him in all *.'

* Manuscripts of the marquis de Dangeau.

The people who had murmured at the duration of the war, now murmured against the peace. Our plenipotentiaries were insulted at Paris, as if they had betrayed the interests of their country. What did they gain, they asked, by so many victories, so many successful sieges, so much bloodshed? as if the cessation of such fatal prosperity was not sufficient gain; they wanted the king to keep all his conquests. Alas! if France had been aggrandized with a few more towns, would her subjects have paid a penny the less?

The courtiers boasted of the king's extreme moderation, a virtue false as the praises they lavished on it. The restitution of conquests, if not extorted, is either a weakness in the prince, or a crime against the state, which those conquests ought to have indemnified, for the expences of the war. He restored all, because he could keep nothing; the allies had been often vanquished, but abounding in resources and full of vigour, they were preparing to invade him on every side. It must then be granted, that Lewis made peace very seasonably for himself; and for a conqueror, that was doing a great deal.

However, all Europe joined in admiring the equity of the conditions he proposed at first, and the facility with which he afterwards softened them; he appeared just, because till then he had appeared only ambitious; when he relinquished Lorraine, he spoke thus to Couvonge: ‘ I have too long delayed making this restitution to your master; I should have made it to the late duke, for whom I always had a great esteem, if he had not ever been among my enemies. I would rather restore a prince his dominions, than dispossess him of them.’

A celebrated Annalist * and the author of *The Age of Lewis the Fourteenth*, upon his word, alledge, that the expected death of the king of Spain, was the secret motive for all the sacrifices made by France, to the tranquility of Europe. If I may be permitted to oppose the opinions of two writers of such distinguished merit, I would say, that this was only in appearance the motive; that the peace had been negotiated for five years; that it was not probable the king of Spain's death should be foreseen ten years before it hap-

* See the *Chronological Abridgment of the History of France*, by the president Hanault, p. 450.

pened;

pened ; that the poverty of the people was carried to a deplorable extremity ; that the king was well acquainted with their misery ; and that compassion alone determined him to make peace ; that his designs upon Spain, whatever those designs were, would have been better seconded by a victorious army well paid, than by the most able negotiator ; that Luxembourg and Louvois were no more, the former for glorious campaigns, the latter for honourable treaties ; and that love and a desire of rest, put an end to this war, which the resentment of a minister against madame de Maintenon had begun. In the congress of Ryswick, nothing was considered but the restitutions made by France ; its exhausted condition was not seen.

It is not possible to read this part of the history of the passed age, without deploring the unhappiness of the people, who are always unreasonably sacrificed to the cruel caprice of princes, who quarrel because they are weary of peace, and are reconciled because they are weary of war ; like children, who are as eager to embrace, as ready to fight. Would it not have been wiser, if the conferences of the congress, had preceded the declaration of war ? Disputes might have risen ; they would have been amicably concluded ; the ministers

would have made themselves understood by each other ; Lewis XIV. would have said to the Dutch, ' I will faithfully observe ' the treaties of Munster and Nimeguen.' The empire would have represented to him, that it was not just for one of his parliaments to dismember its dominions by an *arret* ; and that he would blame them if they suffered it. The English would have proved to him, that they did not force a king upon the nation whom it was unwilling to accept ; they would all have agreed ; and then what an effusion of human blood had been spared !

CHAPTER IV.

The Publick good.

Lewis thought so little of succeeding to the whole monarchy of Spain, that, after the peace was concluded, his first care was to dismember it. That phantom of glory, so long adored, was now vanished. By the partition treaties he sacrificed to the publick tranquillity, his claims to the whole succession of Charles II. His views now terminated in the happiness

happiness of his people ; and his sole ambition was, by a wise and equitable administration, to heal those wounds, which war and the desire of unbounded dominion had made in the state.

Madame de Maintenon, who was often consulted, and always with advantage, pointed out the evil, and sometimes found the remedy for it. She was engaged in all affairs of state, although she believed herself wholly incapable of the trust *, ‘ Be-
‘ cause,’ said she, ‘ I have entered too
‘ late into them.’ The native rectitude of her mind, the strength of her understanding, and the justness of her conceptions, supplied the want of habit. The king, whom Mazarin had trained up to the most profound secrecy, sometimes concealed from her particular circumstances, either that he was not willing to share with any other, the glory of schemes which he only had formed, or because he was resolved to preserve that independence he was so fond of, or perhaps he was reserved at the intreaty of a minister : but he soon returned to an unbounded confidence. Madame de Maintenon again mixed in the tumult she thought she had escaped, always deploring the sad necessity which

* In a letter to the princess of Ursins, in the cabinet of cardinal Lanti.

engaged her in the business of the state, yet employed always in it; and she had a right to be so. The interest which every citizen ought to take in the happiness of his country, obliged her to promote that happiness by all lawful ways. This is the duty of all sexes, all ages, and conditions; and those who cannot perform this duty by their employments, their advice, or their influence, ought to perform it by their prayers and wishes: every title which can give a right to a share in the administration, were united in madame de Maintenon, as subject, favourite, or wife. A mistress who disposes of employments, who distributes favours, who presides at the deliberations of the council, debases the authority she divides, the nation she governs, the lover she advises, and the ministers whom she opposes; but a wife may, without any offence to publick decency, warn her husband of the evil which others conceal from him, of the good which he but half performs; she may guard him against the insinuating poison of flattery, by shewing him the truth without palliation or disguise; she may preserve him from those snares which his ministers lay for his credulity or his passions; and this was madame de Maintenon's conduct. She guarded Lewis against Pontchartrain, who made himself necessary only in trifles,
and

and neglected the essential part of business. Against Barbezieux, who divided his voluptuous mornings between his mistresses and his parasites, while the neglected officers were left to yawn, or execrate in his antichamber. Against Châteauneuf, who neither knew how to make a report, or to be silent. Against the intendant of the buildings, who dared to present false accounts to the king, while the king did not dare to find fault with him, for fear of killing him by a single reprimand *.

Madame de Maintenon knew how to set bounds herself to her power ; she often gave her opinion, but seldom hazarded her advice ; she resisted the dangerous temptation of multiplying dependants ; she was never seen with a croud of importunate petitioners, who seek to engross every thing to themselves ; there was no necessity to purchase at a high price, a moment's audience of one of her favourites, or to write twenty letters to her, to force an answer of two words. A confessor, a domestick, a servile courtier, could not boast of governing her : her ears were shut

* Memoirs of the bishop of Agen. ' The king
' said to me,' (it is the bishop who speaks) ' he is old,
' and his mind is greatly weakened ; if I should chide
' him about this affair, he would break his heart.'

to reports; as well as to recommendations; she had been so often deceived in those persons whom she had served, that she was always apprehensive lest she should confer benefactions on insolent presumption or artful vice, at the expence of modest merit or of humble virtue. This conduct silenced the malecontents; for the people never murmur against the favourite who regulates affairs, but against the person who dispenses favours. The power madame de Maintenon possessed was peaceful and solid, because it was not felt.

Father de la Neuville, a Jesuit, having intreated her, without knowing who she was, to procure him an audience of madame de Maintenon, ‘What is your business with her?’ said she. ‘I want an employment for one of my brothers,’ replied the Jesuit. ‘You would address yourself to a wrong person,’ resumed madame de Maintenon, ‘she sometimes asks alms of the king, but never demands favours.’ ‘She has great power,’ answered the father. ‘Not so much as you imagine,’ returned she. ‘Ah!’ said the Jesuit, ‘it is to madame de Maintenon I have the honour to speak; she only could distrust the extent of her power and influence.’

She

She regularly answered all the letters that were sent to her; but they were generally upon subjects in which her charity was engaged. She would often dress, dictate her answers, and converse with her friends at the same time. The king, observing that these correspondences took up a great deal of that time which he thought very precious, proposed to her to take an almoner. 'An almoner!' said she, 'would be very useful to me, but ' would ill suit with my condition.'

Valincour solicited for the place of secretary to madame de Maintenon; but she rather chose to give this employment to a pupil at Saint-Cyr, rejecting every thing that could give her the appearance of grandeur or ostentation.

The moment arrived that seemed destined to give happiness to France. Madame de Maintenon was upon the point of disclosing the most useful councils, and Lewis of following them; but Des Marais, Brisacier, Fenelon, La Chetardie, and Bourdaloue himself, instead of giving her advice, conducive to the publick good, recommended fasting and prayer to her. They slightly passed over the protection due to the people, and dwelt upon the extreme

treme attention she owed to the affairs of the church : so natural it is for ecclesiasticks in all ages, to concenter the state in themselves. If madame de Maintenon had had a philosopher instead of a divine for the director of her conscience, she would have been less pious, but France would have been happy.

It is greatly to be lamented that a woman, with the intention, the capacity, and the power of doing so much good, should have performed so little. Des Mairais removed her doubts and apprehensions concerning her wanderings in prayer, prescribed austerities, and ordered her to communicate frequently. He spoke to her of exercises of piety to be performed by the king *, but said not a word of what he owed

* See the bishop of Chartres' letters ; there is one which is not to be found in the collection, lately published by the abbé Berthier. ‘ Something has come into my mind, which I think it my duty, madam, to communicate to you. It is my opinion, that you would perform a very meritorious action, if you could prevail upon the king to form a kind of prayer, for himself, in those moments when you find him least embarrassed, and readiest to be influenced by sentiments of piety. This form of prayer should be very short, very simple, and proportioned to his state of in-
attention ;

owed to his subjects. He expected and hoped that grace would miraculously guide a prince whom it had but slightly touched, as if empires were to be governed by inspiration.

‘ attention ; I would only accustom him to regard God,
‘ under that idea which shall most affect him, as of
‘ greatness or mercy, and more especially to make him
‘ seek God within himself. Persons like him often
‘ pass their whole lives without knowing, without
‘ tasting God, and without seeing him there : they
‘ consider him as an unusual object, and at an infinite
‘ distance ; but if you can bring the king to find God
‘ but once within himself, he will taste the concealed
‘ manna, and loath the onions of Egypt. God will
‘ communicate himself by little and little to him ; and
‘ by secretly touching the heart, will do more with an
‘ inattentive spirit, than the best instructions. Endeav-
‘ our, I conjure you, madam, to effect this pious
‘ work ; listen not to the suggestions of human wisdom
‘ but resign yourself to the simplicity of the spirit.
‘ The best method of making this trial, is to accom-
‘ modate yourself to the weakness of a soul which per-
‘ haps has never felt God : be like the prophet, who
‘ shortened his stature to that of the child he endeav-
‘oured to re-animate ; submit to his weakness, sup-
‘ press arguments which would soon fatigue him. The
‘ length of three *miserere* will suffice for the first time :
‘ follow him step by step ; stop, begin again season-
‘ ably.’ Here follows a long enumeration of the at-
tributes of God, which the bishop concludes with these
words : ‘ You see, madam, I am neither reserved nor
‘ cautious ; nor would I chuse to be either with you.’

spiration. He required the most fervent piety in a man, whose imagination was not lively enough to render a being present to it, whom he believed and honoured, but without confidence or love. He lamented with madame de Maintenon, that the king gave so little time to prayer, as if labouring for the happiness of his people was not the best devotion in kings.

Notwithstanding this unhappy inattention to the publick good, yet the people were not wholly neglected; though what was done for them, was done imperfectly and slowly. From the peace to the year 1701, the annals of France shew Lewis giving judgment against himself in suits at law; and commanding the magistrates to give judgment against him likewise in all doubtful cases; repressing luxury by his own example, remitting to the provinces part of the free gift, encouraging agriculture, protecting trade, and abolishing the poll-tax *, pursuant to the promise he had given to his people.

* By an arret of the council of state, December 19, 1697, the poll-tax was only laid on the people for the first quarter of the year 1698; after which the said tax was to be suppressed entirely, conformable to the declaration of the 18th of January.

The

The number of persons who received pensions were diminished. The king made this regulation in madame de Maintenon's apartment, without consulting his ministers. He always granted very large pensions ; and madame de Maintenon always lessened them, being convinced that it was better to confer small benefactions upon a great number of persons, than to enrich a few.

In the finances every thing was to be bought. ' I will not suffer favour and patronage to be purchased,' said the king to the comptroller-general ; ' and I command you to declare my will to all those persons in employments under you.'

Two of the clerks were deprived of their posts ; and several ladies were threatened to be banished from the court. The comptroller-general was in great consternation at this rigour ; his hands might possibly be pure, but those of his officers were not so.

The military degree, which after Louvois' death, had fallen into contempt, was restored to all its prerogatives, without damping that spirit of emulation which produces brave actions, in the hope of being rewarded.

rewarded. Pontchartrain, having named several officers to the king, for the post of captain of the gallies, earnestly recommended the chevalier de Froulé. 'I find 'Froulé is your choice,' said the king, 'he deserves to be promoted; but there 'are officers as brave as he is, who are his 'seniors, and who have no one to solicit 'for them; it is therefore fit that I should 'take care of their interests.' And accordingly he chose the eldest *.

The duke of Burgundy was admitted to the council for foreign affairs. 'You 'shall not have a voice at first,' said the king to him, 'but, by hearing the debates, 'you will learn how to vote.' He afterwards acquainted him with the affairs within the kingdom, as particularly as if he had always directed them, and with as much confidence as if he had resigned the empire to him.

The duke of Burgundy was as solicitous to acquire a thorough knowledge of the state of the kingdom, as if he was soon to govern it. He desired to be informed of every thing relating to the provinces; and the intendants had orders to

* The marquis de Dangeau's manuscripts.

send him the most circumstantial memoirs : a journey incognito would have instructed him better.

By travelling over France, he would have seen happy towns and ruined villages ; the country deserted, manufactures going to decay, the industrious labourer groaning under the weight of imposts, the indolent monk fattening upon the fruits of the earth which he did not cultivate ; he would have seen a people wretched that was worthy to be happy ; he would have found that it was easy to increase the good, and to diminish the evil.

The intendants but ill seconded his hopes and his designs. One of them had lived twenty years like a king in his district, yet was ignorant of its strength, its resources, and its nurseries ; another exclaimed against the inhabitants of his ; here one, upon his arrival in his province, would exaggerate the inconveniences and abuses, in order to obtain a more extensive power ; there another, grown old in the administration, would palliate and defend them, to stifle the cry of publick oppression. The intendants of the state-counties would paint the assemblies of the three orders, represented by the fathers of the country, as

a set of rebels; those in the counties of elections, would boast of the advantages arising from the arbitrary *taille*, as if they were apprehensive that instrument of tyranny would be snatched out of their hands: some of them would dwell much upon trifling circumstances, and slightly pass over such as were worthy of the prince's notice; others were hardy enough to propose means for levying new imposts: all acknowledged the evils brought on the kingdom by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, but none deplored them. The duke of Burgundy was early taught, by experience, that the representative of the king, is seldom the friend of the people.

CHAPTER V.

The archbishop of Paris. Father de la Chaise. The curate of Versailles.

NOailles had a soul more elevated than Godet des Marais; he possessed the sole confidence of madame de Maintenon, but made less advantage of it for himself than for his diocese. He proposed that the bishopricks should be divided; he attempted to reform the manners of the courtiers; he would not suffer the king's council to govern the church, nor the church to deny a portion of its revenues to the demands of the council. When consulted upon affairs of state, he always declared the truth with more boldness than the gentleness of his disposition seemed to promise.

He was greatly concerned at the reduction of the rents of the Town-House. 'Sire,' said madame de Maintenon to the king, who seemed rejoiced that he had found

found an easy method of paying his debts, ' You are then going to forbid your parliament to prosecute the robbers on the highway.' The king told her, that the necessities of the state obliged him to make this reduction. Madame de Maintenon insisted, that a king ought not to fail in his engagements, till after he had ineffectually tried every possible means of fulfilling them.

She grieved to see new buildings erected every day with a magnificence that seemed to insult the publick poverty ; and openly declared her disapprobation of the chapel of Versailles. She so effectually cured the king of his passion for building, that his expences for his pleasures were confined to the embellishment of his gardens. Pontchartrain proposing to him to decorate Paris with publick edifices, Lewis replied, ' My ministers, by continually filling my ears with glory, have made all Europe believe, that I place mine in the distresses of my people ; I love to build, but, for the future, never speak to me more, of either building for Paris or myself. Let my people be well fed, I shall always be well enough lodged.'

The abuse of authority afflicted madame de Maintenon, and enraged the arch-

archbishop. Private orders were at first only used against traitors; afterwards in favour of some families, whose honour the court was willing to preserve; and at length against the Jansenists, who signed the formulary, to avoid the anathemas of the church, and dogmatized in secret to stifle their remorse.

These orders were now so frequent that they formed a kind of inquisition in the state, and France was upon the point of being governed by letters de cachet. The hereticks were apprehensive of informers, the men of letters of dangerous suspicions, the innocent and the guilty dreaded alike a secret sentence, always more cruel and less just than a publick one. The archbishop of Paris never ceased to represent to madame de Maintenon, that God would one day call the king to an account for all the injustice committed under his name; for all the arbitrary proceedings of the council; for the banishment of so many persons, contrary to the usual forms; for all the evils which attended that new practice of the law, contrary to the known rules, always insolent, sometimes equitable, but always suspected of not being so.

Madame

Madame de Maintenon often represented the fatal consequences of these abuses to the king, who, confounding the right of arresting a citizen without proof, with that of trying him without forms of law, constantly replied, 'This has been the custom in all times.' So dangerous are the first usurpations : however, he seemed full of respect for the laws. 'When once we swerve from them,' said he, 'we know no longer where to find them.' But he expected that every thing should be done with great expedition, and all by himself; he was just, and he believed that his ministers were so likewise. This is the most common and the most striking injustice attributed to kings.

Madame de Maintenon, not being able to hinder these private orders and prosecutions against what were called crimes of state, attempted at least to make them less rigorous. She was informed of the severity practised at Vincennes and the Bastile, from whence so few wise men have been delivered, and so many despairing wretches have died. The prisoners were not allowed to have books, their friends were not permitted to visit them, and the sacraments were refused them. She conjured the minister to have a heart.

She

She prevailed upon the king to examine well into the merits of those ecclesiasticks who were recommended to him for the dignities of the church. The power she had over him, her connections with the bishops, her acknowledged wisdom and piety, might have given her great influence in the nomination to benefices; however, she contented herself at first with having inspired the king with a resolution to seek the good of the church, without entering any farther into its affairs. A bishop coming to return her thanks, for an abbey lately bestowed upon him, 'You owe me no acknowledgement, monsieur,' said she, 'I did not till now know that the king had given it to you; I neither concern myself in the affairs of the church or the state:' and then this was true.

But afterwards she was so earnestly solicited by the archbishop of Paris, and by the bishop of Chartres to drive away the wolves from the Lord's fold, that she became the patroness of the clergy, who had then occasion for a powerful support. Father de la Chaise was often deceived, and sometimes he was willing to be so. The greatest part of the petitions were simoniacal. One pleaded the great services of

his ancestors ; another the wounds his relation had received in battle ; this insinuated that he had been ruined by the war, and that a benefice would pay his debts, as if the revenues of the church were the price of the blood that was shed in fighting ; that boasted the nobility of his descent. All claimed notice from merits foreign to their profession.

Father de la Chaise generally made choice of greedy and ambitious men to propose to the king. He was greatly blamed for treating these holy affairs with too much levity ; for giving an abbey to one of his brothers, who deserved only hounds for the chase ; for accumulating benefices for one of his nephews, who was a disgrace to his family ; for placing at the heads of the richest convents in France three of his nieces, one of whom had been publicly convicted of so scandalous a crime, that he was obliged to have her confined. His brother, the seneschall of Lyons, purchased the post of captain of the pallace-gates from the marquis de Saint-Valier : many jests were circulated at the expence of this new count de la Chaise.

The archbishop of Paris was alarmed at the confessor's great interest with the king ;

king: there was a necessity for setting some bounds to it. The prelate filled the king with so many scruples; madame de Maintenon made him so often ashamed of the bad choice he had been induced to make, through the partial representations of father de la Chaise, that the Jesuit, in great terror, said to his friends, 'I am ruined: I have it no longer in my power to recommend an ecclesiastick; and, very soon, I shall not be able to exclude any.'

The king, that he might know what ecclesiasticks were best qualified for the dignities of the church, demanded a list of the most virtuous and pious among them from the duke de Beauvillieres, and madame de Maintenon, another from the archbishop of Paris. The promotions were more judiciously made, the translations were less frequent; the king was told that translations were severely prohibited by the sacred canons, and that they excited ambition and avarice among the bishops. A residence in the diocese was now expressly commanded; sometimes a look from the king sent back to their dioceses those bishops who were seen at his levee; sometimes an order from the attorney-general shortened their stay at Paris. 'If the bishops, who haunt the court, knew

‘ much they are despised,’ said madame de Maintenon, ‘ they would never appear there, and pride would oblige them to do what their duty cannot.’

She was continually exhorting the king to chuse the bishops from among the vicars general. Lewis approved this maxim ; and from that moment those places, before so much disdain’d by the abbés of quality, were earnestly solicited by them, and very soon abused. The king supported the jurisdiction of the bishops ; he heard their complaints of the usurpations made by the parliaments of Toulouse and Bourdeaux, and gave that famous edict so favourable to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but so often eluded.

The church expressed her gratitude for these services by an easy and generous concession of the free gift. In vain the ministers exclaimed against the partiality of assessments ; in vain they exaggerated the necessities of the state ; the king would not allow any attempt to be made upon the right of a voluntary subsidy ; the precious remains of that which formerly every province possessed ; the image of ancient liberty, so grievous for the counties where elections are made, but by which the
privi-

privileges of the state counties are preserved.

Father de la Chaise, to revenge himself upon madame de Maintenon for the loss of his power, and in order to recover it, covertly attacked Noailles with the king, his counsellor, and his chaplain. The prelate, in consequence of the confessor's insinuations, being suspected of Jansenism, was warmly defended by madame de Maintenon, who sometimes exaggerated the virtues of the accused, and sometimes the faults of the accuser; but in vain she endeavoured to enforce the merit of so many mandates of the archbishop against the doctrine of Jansenius. Father de la Chaise demanded, why Noailles, who condemned the propositions of that doctrine, protected the disciples of it? The king perceived this palpable contradiction; the archbishop seemed to him a heretick, so much the more dangerous, as he had not the appearance of one; but these unfavourable impressions were effaced in the first audience Noailles had of the king. The prelate, full of candor, humility, and gentleness, might be guilty, but could never be hated.

His private correspondence with madame de Maintenon was at length discovered.

vered. Father de la Chaife, who was more beloved than esteemed by the king, enjoyed his confidence one day through inclination, and lost it the next through reflection. The confessor endeavoured to render madame de Maintenon suspected by the king, and some Jansenists, who at her recommendation had been provided for in the church, furnished him with an opportunity, not to decry her faith, but to discredit her councils; reports were opposed to reports, and Noailles was made a cardinal, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Jesuits to the contrary. Madame de Maintenon, whose thoughts were all employed on her last hour, was desirous when she died to leave the king in his hands; she looked upon the accusation of Jansenism as the crime only of those whose piety and manners were exemplary, and those holy disputes as a war between the clergy who resolved to be free, and the Jesuits who attempted to enslave them completely: a war of which religion was the pretence, and envy the motive.

Cardinal de Noailles, finding her in this disposition of mind, formed schemes for removing father de la Chaife, and for giving his place to father d'Emerick, who, ambitious and plotting for the greater glory of God, continually beset Versailles,

to

to deprive father de la Chaise of a post which he thought himself better qualified to fill. Madame de Maintenon engaged in this scheme; she attributed all the king's sins to the indulgence of his confessors; she conceived that he ought to be called to this employment by a vocation from heaven, and not by a cabal at court; that he ought to endeavour to merit by good works that grace which was necessary for filling it well; she would have had father de la Chaise endeavour, by fervent prayer, to obtain of God the salvation of his penitent.

His equipage was not suitable to the humility of a religious; his luxurious life gave scandal to weak minds, drew sighs from the devout, and sarcastick jests from the courtiers: even the Jesuits murmured at it. Father Thyrsus Gonzalés, general of the order, had given him severe, but ineffectual reprimands. A coach drawn by six gay mettlesome horses; a country house situated near Paris, to attract every one's eyes; gardens in the magnificent taste of the age; elegant repasts given to his friends; all in him enforced, in spite of his vows, the rights and privileges of the triumphant church.

The Jansenists attributed to him the insolence of a man, who has every day his God in his hands, and his king at his feet ; they also complained that his hands were open to gifts ; one presented him with fine horses, another with medals. The abbé Descamps gave him a very curious cabinet, which is still to be seen in the library of the professed house ; a monument of his learning and of his avarice.

The king knew part of these faults, but he had occasion for an indulgent man. The place of confessor is often obtained by the arts of cabal, but only kept by becoming convenient. Father de la Chaise was mild, obliging, incapable of contradicting his penitent, severe upon great sins, indulgent to frailties ; he inspired the king with all that aversion to devotees, which he felt so strongly himself, and so much the more easily, as the king had often discovered them to be hypocrites, frail or heretical. It was by the same arts that he compleated the ruin of father d'Emerick ; Jansenism had removed him from the dutchess of Burgundy, devotion excluded him from the king.

Cardinal Noailles and madame de Maintenon, now cast their eyes upon another

ther Jesuit for director to the king. Father de la Chaise warded off this stroke; and his power with Lewis, superior even to the laws of honour, kept one of his nephews in the army, though convicted of cowardice, and obnoxious to a whole regiment, which used their utmost endeavours to have him broke.

The prelate and the lady were not discouraged; one suspected him of making use of all his skill, to induce the king to sin against the dictates of his conscience, the other accused him of not exercising all the duties of his function to prevent those sins. The cardinal was desirous of giving the king another confessor through hatred of evil, madame de Maintenon through the love of good.

The curate of Versailles was very ambitious of confessing his parishioner. He had already had some conversations with the king, which gave him hopes; and he was continually shewing him the qualities of a confessor, as if he intended to persuade him, that the painter resembled the portrait he drew. Having one day solicited a pension from the king for an actress, who had quitted the stage for the convent, 'How happy is she,' said the king, 'to renounce the world for a life of penitence.'

‘ tence ! it is very difficult to become
 ‘ righteous.’ ‘ Every thing is easy to
 ‘ grace,’ replied the curate ; ‘ When the
 ‘ evil of one’s past life is to be repaired,’
 resumed the king, ‘ and when there is no
 ‘ possibility of repairing it : how greatly
 ‘ is such a person to be pitied !’ ‘ God is
 ‘ willing to save you,’ answered the curate ;
 ‘ it is not in vain that he raises these pious
 ‘ thoughts in your mind ; your most solid
 ‘ fame (to convert him it was still neces-
 ‘ sary he should be flattered) is to secure
 ‘ your salvation, by repairing the faults
 ‘ you have committed in your youth.’
 ‘ All this is very true,’ replied the king,
 ‘ but there are faults of a certain nature,
 ‘ which cannot be repaired.’

It is not to be doubted but the king meant his having taken a wife by force from her husband ; his unjust wars, and consequently many murders ; those immense sums levied upon the poor, and expended in guilty pleasures ; and all those evils which a barren repentance can only efface, in a situation where it is easy to commit injustice, and impossible to make restitution.

Either through caution or wisdom, Hébert did not probe the wounds which he had no hope of curing ; he had recourse to general arguments upon the goodness of God : the
 king

king was greatly affected ; and owned he was so to madame de Maintenon, who immediately acquainted cardinal Noailles with what he had said. The curate, encouraged by them, hazarded some counsels ; but whether they were misplaced, or that grace has moments which never return again, the king listened to him with indifference *.

Father de la Chaize, who was alarmed at these private conferences, represented Hébert as an imprudent man, devoted to the cardinal, and who neither thought, wrote, or spoke, but according to his suggestions. Hébert, growing every day more importunate, strengthened these prejudices, by continually reminding the king of that first conversation of which he had profited so little, and which the king was desirous to forget. The curate one day quoting the example of saint Lewis, to prove to the king, that he might secure his salvation upon the throne, ‘ Saint Lewis,’ said the king, ‘ received the communion but twice a year ; however, he was a great saint.’ ‘ Yes,’ replied the curate, ‘ but he confessed himself twice a day.’ ‘ Then he was a great sinner,’ answered the king coldly.

* The bishop of Agen’s memoirs.

Madame de Maintenon, finding the king was not able to disengage himself from father de la Chaise, reconciled herself to him, in hopes of reconciling the Jesuit to devotion. Father de la Chaise had a long conversation with her; he justified himself for the king's langour in exercises of piety, promised her, that for the future he would speak with the utmost freedom to the king, and be wholly impartial in his recommendation of ecclesiasticks. Notwithstanding this peace, madame de Maintenon and the confessor behaved as if they suspected the sincerity of each other's professions, and were jealous of each other's power.

A trifle it was said was the cause of this misunderstanding. Madame de Maintenon having solicited a benefice for an abbé whom she patronized, Father de la Chaise promised her to mention him seasonably to the king: when he presented him the list, the name of this abbé was at the head of it. The king effaced it; the confessor, with seeming concern, told the king, that this ecclesiastick had been recommended to him by madame de Maintenon. 'It is for that very reason,' replied the king, 'that I have blotted him out of the list: I will not have her meddle in these affairs.' 'But, Sire,' said

said the Jesuit, ' I shall incur her displeasure; I thought the recommendation of so pious a lady ought to have some weight.' That is indeed a reason,' replied the king, ' but if it is a good one to you, it is not so to me.'

By this little circumstance, one may easily imagine that madame de Maintenon had occasion for all that wit which is attributed to her, to govern a prince so nicely jealous of his power. It also shews, that at first she had very little influence in the nomination to benefices; she afterwards interested herself more in the affairs of the clergy. Conscience is easily made a party in what one likes. The bishop of Chartres persuaded her, that it was a duty; if he had not been her director, would he not have made it a crime?

However that may be, she was offended with father de la Chaise, for his affecting to put the name of her friend at the head of his list. She considered this seeming mark of respect as an artifice, to prevail upon the king to prohibit her for the future, from laying any restraint upon the Jesuit by her recommendations. It was to this mistake, that the confessor attributed the coldness she first shewed him, which was afterwards followed by such great hostilities.

But

But it is probable, that this enmity had another cause. Madame de Maintenon might easily have forgot a slight injury to herself, but she could not pardon in a confessor, a train of actions unsuitable to his character; she advanced every day in piety, and piety was not even honoured by father de la Chaise; she sometimes delivered herself to all the austerities of a nun, and the priest to all the luxury of a courtier; she was continually inciting a prince to the practice of the sublimest virtues, who was still too much intoxicated with mistaken glory; and father de la Chaise did not assist her endeavours, and was apprehensive of fatiguing an indolent mind, almost as easily soothed as alarmed; she loved Lewis with the most tender affection; and the sole end of her love, was to secure his salvation. This was her chief happiness, her most ardent prayer, her only passion, and the worldly life of a confessor, whose duty it was to preach by example, seemed to her more likely to irritate God, than to draw blessings upon his penitent.

Hence that continual distrust of father de la Chaise, that opposition to his increasing power, that scheme for banishing him from the court, that extreme indifference

ference for his whole society, the most useful one to the church, the only useful one to the state; hence that inclination to believe that it was this order which had formed the project of rendering the road to heaven easy for sinners; that joy when Rome or the Sorbonne condemned any thesis of theirs; that terror of the power of an order, supposed to be ambitious of governing, because they were qualified for it, and so many other unjust effects of an aversion, in its principle absolutely just.

Father de la Chaise, whose reputation the Jansenists had but slightly stained, now raises our compassion in the letters of madame de Maintenon to cardinal Noailles. He loved pleasures, he had a taste for magnificence, but he had virtues, which a person less pious than madame de Maintenon, would easily have perceived: each one has a manner of thinking peculiar to himself; the most exact penetration may be weakened or deceived by a diversity of characters and interests; whatever was not holy, was in madame de Maintenon's opinion criminal; although the judgment we form of men be not exactly true, the heart may be free from malice; it is human nature that is weak in what it practises, and in what it condemns. Madame de Maintenon thought it necessary to
awaken

awaken the king's conscience by severity ; and father de la Chaise conceived, that the true method of hastening his return to grace, was to expect its influence with patience ; and the event shewed that he was right.

The king attained that solid and practical piety, to which his wife and his confessor aspired to conduct him, though by different methods : in a word, father de la Chaise did not possess the qualities of a religious, but he had all those that were necessary for the confessor of a king. To attribute to a man the faults necessarily connected with his place, is the source of erroneous judgments.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Billets of Confession.

THE king's designs for the publick good were as extensive as they were just. He endeavoured to discover the cause of the exhausted condition of the state, and found it in the flight of the Huguenots, by which our provinces were depopulated, and our enemies enriched; he heard the proposal for recalling them, without any signs of displeasure. The descent made by the duke of Savoy into Dauphiné, gave him a proof of the fidelity of those Huguenots who remained in the kingdom. That prince had brought arms for twenty thousand men, supposing that the sectaries would declare for him as soon as he arrived; but not one of the new converts would listen to his offers, nor to the exhortation of the protestant ministers, whom he brought in his train*.

At the congress of Ryswick, the king heard, without reluctance, the solicitations

* On the contrary, says the French gazette, they were the first to fall upon his troops. August 1692.

of

of the protestant princes for the return of the refugees : but these sollicitations were weakly urged ; they had profited by our loss, and were afraid of being weakened and impoverished by their return.

A memorial upon this important subject was presented to the king : it was communicated to madame de Maintenon, and by her refuted. This refutation is still extant in her own hand *. We may there find that she but ill understood the state of affairs, that she had an abhorrence of toleration, but that she had not examined into the claim the Huguenots had to be tolerated. If by this paper, the fugitives were prevented from ever returning to France, Lewis XIV. and madame de Maintenon are greatly to be pitied, the former for being determined by the weakest reason imaginable, the other for opposing her country's good, through an impulse of blind zeal which made her mistake it.

Since those who had fled were not to be recalled, it seemed necessary at least to detain such as threatened to follow them. The king was extremely afflicted, to find that the bishops differed in their sentiments concerning the treatment that was to be

* See the pieces justificative, N^o 21.

given to the new converts ; some declared that they ought to be led to the altar, with the bayonets fixed at the ends of the muskets * ; others that violent methods should be used, to make them attend to the exhortations, but that the sacraments should be prohibited to them ; and some proposed, that they should try what advice and instruction could do with them. Each of these methods had its difficulty : the king was sensible that the first would only be productive of sacrilege, that the second would make hypocrites, and the third atheists : the dilemma was great ; gentleness makes few converts, and violence very indifferent ones. However, it was necessary that this part of the king's subjects should have a religion ; they were without temples, it was not fit that they should be without worship also ; it was equally dangerous to restore them their own, and to impose upon them one which they abhorred.

The king, that he might be enabled to make a uniform regulation, ordered the bishops to give him their sentiments in writing, and to address their papers to cardinal Noailles. Both the question and

* All this is copied from the bishop of Agen's manuscripts, page 108 and following.

the answer will make the clergy of France eternally infamous. The question was, whether hereticks might be forced to believe, and to receive the communion? Cardinal Noailles and father le Tellier were the only ecclesiasticks who maintained, that it was a tyranny before men, and an abomination before God. All the others concluded for the sacrilege, even Bossuet himself (for those who best defend the mysteries of religion, are not those who sport with them the least) Bossuet, who had at first groaned at the proposition of this violence, consented to this profanation of the awful sacraments *.

The most virtuous amongst the prelates gave the most atrocious advice. The bishop of Chartres in particular, that angel of the court, declared, in all humility and christian meekness, that the sword of authority ought to be raised against such as refuse the Eucharist; so easy it is to be pious, so difficult to be wise and good. Philosophy has now so humanized and polished the manners of all the orders of the state, that it is possible this fact will not be believed; but there is one of those orders so little submitted to its empire, that it is ever ready to renew the wild rage of

* Madame de Maintenon's letters.

the same mistaken zeal. This reflection may well be pardoned me, the just rights of humanity force it from me: those rights which formerly were so audaciously violated, and which are at present so ill secured.

The king gave cardinal Noailles a day for examining the bishop's papers. The prelate brought him an extract from them; but the king would see the papers entire, and, tedious as they were, he read them all in one afternoon. The conformity of their sentiments did not determine him; but he was struck with some passages from saint Augustine, who intreated the counts Boniface and Marcellin, governours of Africa, to persecute the Donatists.

The cardinal dissipated those clouds which authority raised against reason, by representing to the king, that the Donatists were then armed; that it was necessary to oppose force to force; that saint Augustin, to whom they attributed the sentiments of a tyrant, was the gentlest of men; that neither in his writings, nor in those of the ancient fathers, could there be found any traces of violence exercised against those who were in error; that it was the custom of the church to vomit hereticks from her mouth, and not to force them to return into her bosom;

bosom; that this usage had never varied; that all the rituals excluded such as were excommunicated from the celebration of the holy mysteries; that to permit persons to attend divine service, who were under the censures of the church, was contrary to the first laws of its discipline; but, by forcing them there, the majesty of religion was violated.

These arguments made a great impression upon the king; but the tumultuous cries of a hundred bishops, who were against toleration, filled his ears. Already they accused him of weakly yielding. He was willing to be obedient to their voice; he was unwilling to be cruel to his people; he ought to have known that the spirit which would force his subjects to believe, was the same which had assassinated his grandfather, who was suspected of not believing. He deferred the decision from day to day, fluctuating between the counsels of his whole clergy, and the counsels of one honest man. Madame de Maintenon was delivered up to all the perplexities of a conscience, which, now yielding to compassion, revolted against the obedience due to so many bishops, and now acknowledging their power, stifled the dictates of compassion.

The

The king, whom a noble effort of reason too seldom exerted in such as seek counsel in difficult cases, could alone engage to prefer the advice of one to the advice of all, durst not absolutely determine, abandoned the sectaries to their enemies, and sent instructions into all the provinces, which neither authorized nor disapproved of rigorous methods; but he was persuaded to believe that he should obtain from their passions what he could not force from them by severity; and in this idea he subjected their marriages to the benediction of the priests. Formerly they used to contract them before the chief judge of the place, in obedience to an arret of council given in 1685. Without cancelling this arret, the Huguenots were obliged to marry in the Roman church like the rest of the king's subjects. The altars were besieged with lovers, who came in crouds to purchase the nuptial benediction, by a whole year of sacrilegious worship. These impious bishops arrogated to themselves the merit of abjurations, which they forced from the passionate Huguenots, who, on their side, vowed to make attonement for them, by shewing a publick contempt for the catholick ceremonies and tenets, as soon as they had married their mistresses.

Mar-

Marriage, which with the Protestants is but a civil act, now became a sacrament : a contract the most favourable to society, was subjected to long and arbitrary trials. The sacerdotal benediction, which the ablest divines did not think necessary to the validity of marriage, became an essential part of it ; but the bishops, perceiving that the husbands returned to their former errors, forbid the curates to marry the Hereticks, and condemned a whole people to celibacy.

This evil still subsists ; the Huguenots avoid an union, which, if entered into contrary to the laws, deprives the children of their inheritance, and the fathers, if conformable to the laws, of all the rights of conscience. Families become extinct, the provinces are depopulated : but of what consequence is it to the church, that the state should lose its citizens ? A bitter and ignominious reproach, bold perhaps but just, as long as the clergy do not banish from the church such as are not its true disciples ; as long as they neglect to demand of the prince a revocation of a law which produces only celibacy or profanation ; as long as it neglects to propose that matrimonial contracts should be performed before the principal judge of the place, as the

the only remedy against depopulation and sacrilege.

Cardinal Noailles continued firm in his opinion for civil toleration ; but, convinced that the church ought not to tolerate any thing impure, excluded the Huguenots from the participation of the sacraments, and constantly maintained that saint Denis, whose see he filled, never forced any person to attend at his masses.

Among the Protestants in the diocese of Paris, there were some, who to make their way to the dignities of the law, or to gain military preferments, professed the Catholick religion, and preserved the opinions of the Huguenots ; but, still scrupulous enough to abstain from the communion, they purchased from mercenary priests certificates of their being good Catholics. In their last moments they shewed the curates, who came to exhort them, these shameful attestations, under covert of which they made their wills, and died in peace. To remedy this abuse, cardinal Noailles contrived billets of confession, an excellent curb to the impostures of persons who thought confession an intolerable grievance.

Many of the Huguenots were pleased with these wise regulations, but those among them, whom ambition or vice obliged to appear Catholicks, murmured at a law which unmasked them. We are neither permitted, said they, to re-unite to the church, or separate from it; we are indeed hereticks, but it is not certain that we are so, there is but a bare probability of it; the king's edicts acknowledge but one religion in his kingdom, and we conform to it; we have a right to the protection of the church, the participation of the sacraments are mere discipline, and the archbishop violates the laws of the prince, who has admitted us to it; the sacraments are granted to all who demand them; in every other diocese, they are forced upon such as refuse them.

Such were the arguments urged by these impious Huguenots; but not one of them durst complain to the sovereign courts, of the billets of confession, or of the refusal of the sacraments. But although they should have complained, the bishop had nothing to fear from parliaments, who were convinced, that the policy of the church was, by its nature, dependent upon the church alone; and that

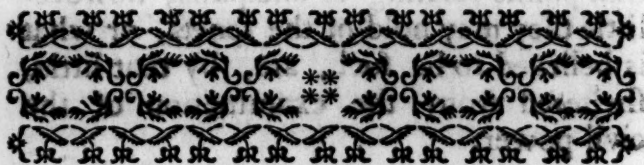
that points relating to discipline, however little they may hold of the tenets, or what is believed to be such, are, by that little, sheltered from the examination of the civil power.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH

CHAPTER I.



THE cardinal of the duke de
Noailles, minister of the duke de
Lorraine, the king loved the cardinal
as one of his most faithful servants, and
regarded de Maintenon, as a woman of the
highest rank, as a lady worthy of the
duke de Lorraine. The duke and the
cardinal were also united by the duke
of Lorraine, who was a great friend of the
cardinal.



BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Marriage of mademoiselle d'Aubigné.

THE cardinal and the duke de Noailles mutually supported each other at court: both the brothers were in high favour; the king loved the marshal as one of his most faithful servants, and madame de Maintenon esteemed the cardinal, as a bishop worthy of the first ages of the church. The prelate and the duke were alike envied by the Jesuits and the courtiers; but attentive to all the secret cabal

cabals of their enemies, they exerted the same degree of art to preserve their favour, that they would have employed to acquire it. The duke scarce quitted the king a moment; he knew that princes of a light and inconstant disposition, are disgusted with the too frequent recurrence of the same object, and that princes, whose friendships are habitual, are cooled by absence. The prelate visited madame de Maintenon every monday: the pleasure she found in that day's conversation, made all the rest of the week insipid to her. The former admitted to the highest degree of familiarity with his master, knew how to enjoy it without abusing it; he could speak sincerely without offending, and could say the most agreeable things without flattery; he was always near him without seeming officious; obtained favours without solicitation; in a word, he was always the same, yet always appeared new. The other, in possession of the most unbounded confidence, distinguished himself by the wisdom of his counsels, established the strictest order in his diocese, and, by his extreme vigilance and assiduity, strengthened and confirmed that intercourse of prayers, austerities, and affairs of state, which, for the glory of God, and for his own interest, he had settled with madame de Maintenon.

The cabal attacked the marshal on what they thought his weakest side ; they could not reproach him with vice, they therefore endeavoured to make him contemptible : his seeming devotion was the subject of their ridicule ; and Rousseau, the bitter reviler of all his benefactors, made satirical verses against him. The efforts of his enemies to lessen his character, rendered him dearer to the king, who put him in a condition to prove to them, the extreme injustice of their censures. He answered satires by victories ; he destroyed the suspicion that was raised of his incapacity, by sieges judiciously conducted and successfully ended ; he shewed them, by the exact discipline he established among his troops, that the gentleness of his disposition, which had exposed him to their raillery, could give place to a well-timed severity : he had not that quickness of thought, so remarkable in the Vendômes, nor the solid judgment of Luxembourg, but he was capable of great application ; his conduct was always prudent, and his courage, though calm, was uniform and steady ; his ill state of health obliged him to quit the army, at an age when he might have been most useful to it. The count d'Ayen his son filled the void which his father had left.

This

This young nobleman made his first campaign in the troops of the mousquetairs; and when scarce past a child, had acquired the friendship of the king and of madame de Maintenon. Mademoiselle d'Aubigné, brought up by her aunt, and tenderly beloved by the dutchess of Burgundy, promised so great a fortune to the man whom she honoured with her hand, that all the young noblemen of the court aspired to obtain her, while their fathers durst not venture to solicit so advantageous an alliance. Mademoiselle d'Aubigné seemed destined as the reward of the highest merit: it was not doubted, but that madame de Maintenon would marry her like a mother, and that the king would portion her like an uncle.

Madame de Maintenon might have given her to a prince of the blood; and her friends, by reminding her of the prince of Conti and the count de Soisson's marriage, seemed to insinuate to her, that ambition ought to direct her choice. The authority of Mazarin was then less securely fixed than her's; his nieces were not superior to mademoiselle d'Aubigné, either by birth, by merit, or by beauty; and the princes were then more delicate in those sort of alliances. The desire of having a

port after the death of the king, her brother's ambition, the examples of others, the glory of mixing her blood with that of the Bourbons, the inclination Lewis shewed to multiply unequal matches, perhaps to justify his own; all these considerations could not shake the resolution of madame de Maintenon. The marchioness de Montespan, said they, would not have balanced a moment: 'It is for that very reason,' answered madame de Maintenon, 'that I do.'

The princess of Harcourt durst not presume to propose her eldest son, the prince of Guise, for mademoiselle d'Aubigné. That his alliance might be thought the more considerable, she had sacrificed her youngest son to him, whom she obliged to enter into religious orders. This abbé having afterwards betrayed his master, the princess threw herself at the king's feet to implore his pardon. The king raising her, said to her with that majestick sweetness so peculiar to himself, 'Well, madam, we have both had a loss, you of an unworthy son, I of a bad subject; we must make the best of it.'

The princess of Harcourt endeavoured to inspire mademoiselle d'Aubigné with a passion for the prince of Guise, either because

cause she thought that if the children were agreed, the consent of the relations would soon follow; or because she hoped to force proposals from a person, to whom she durst not venture to make them; or perhaps she flattered herself, that madame de Maintenon would be afraid of refusing the alliance of a family, whom it has always been found dangerous to offend; or perhaps by making the first advances, she intended to lay an obliging constraint upon her humility, which seemed to suggest to her, that so great an alliance was not practicable.

Madame de Maintenon learned from the ingenuity and candour of her niece, the designs of the princess of Harcourt, who had soothed with the title of highness the vanity of a young girl who had been brought up by her aunt, with no higher expectations than of marrying a private gentleman; but it was that education which rendered her worthy of being the wife of a prince.

No woman ever practised less reserve in her conversation and behaviour than the princess of Harcourt; she seemed to have acquired the right of saying every thing, and what in any other would have been extremely disagreeable, in her was pleasing.

One evening when she was in the dutchess of Burgundy's apartments, where all was easy gait, and unrestrained freedom, they put crackers under her petticoats, fastened one of her sleeves to the duke of Berry's coat, and her robe to the stool she sat on. The princess of Harcourt, frightened at the noise of the crackers, jumped up with her petticoats burning, and ran into the antichamber, dragging after her a prince and a stool, crying out to the king, 'Sire, your children are wags.'

The princess of Harcourt was as remarkable for her indiscretion, as madame de Maintenon for her disinterestedness; and probably it was this that lessened her hopes. Heaven sports with the fortunes of men; when Agrippa d'Aubigné lived, the Guises aspired to the daughters of their kings, and a hundred years afterwards, they were afraid to demand his great granddaughter in marriage.

The family of Noailles ardently wished that mademoiselle d'Aubigné might be given to the count d'Ayen. The publick had destined her to him*: but this report was soon destroyed. The marshal de Noailles, who charmed every body but

* See madame de Coulange's letters.

madame de Maintenon, was not more hardy than the princess of Harcourt: the marshal feared a refusal, but the archbishop of Paris undertook to manage the affair.

Madame de Maintenon, upon the first ^{April} propos^{1698.}al that was made to her, promised her niece to the count de Ayen. Lewis seemed to favour the count's pretensions. Thus she gratified at once her esteem for the cardinal, her tenderness for mademoiselle d'Aubigné, and shewed her submission to the will of the king.

This alliance, says the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. was rather advantageous to the count d'Aubigné's daughter, than to the duke de Noailles: a very singular paradox! there was not any nobleman in the court, who would not have thought it an honour to have married her, even without a portion. He would have been indemnified for it, by advantageous governments, by being early raised to the highest posts in the army, by employments given to all his relations, and by an influence in the court, which would have made him the dispenser of favours to others, and secured the highest posts to himself. The husband of mademoiselle d'Aubigné must necessarily be considered as nephew to the king.

The family of Noailles was honoured with the peerage before the elevation of madame de Maintenon, and with the staff of marshal of France without her sollicitation ; but, since this marriage, it is become the most powerful family in the kingdom, illustrious always in each of its branches, and at present there is as many noblemen in as it has members.

Madame de Maintenon was so sensible of the advantages that family obtained, that she often said, ‘ This marriage is ‘ the glory and the shame of my life.’ The glory by the personal qualities of the count de Ayen, whom the king regarded as one of his most useful subjects, and the state as one of the most faithful citizens ; the shame on account of the immense fortune that was given with her niece. Madame de Maintenon was very desirous of confining it to the gift of her estate, which she settled upon her ; but the king, who was generous to excess, gave her a million of money, and fifty thousand crowns in jewels.

The morning after the nuptials, he went to visit the new-married couple, who were still in bed ; and, drawing the curtain, he told the count d’ Ayen, *That he gave him,*

him a pension of six thousand francs; and madam, said he to the dutchess of Burgundy, *I advise you to say the same to the countess.* It was in vain that he seemed to consider these presents as trifles, which could not ruin his people; madame de Maintenon well knew that all that was given to the courtier was taken from the peasant. Shocked at the publick poverty, she seemed to think that the happiness of her family was formed upon the misery of a hundred others.

The enemies of the family of Noailles were overwhelmed with grief at this marriage; they renewed the remembrance of all those idle tales of the captal of Budes; of the family of Bouillon; of the capitoulat of Toulouse, as if they had not been unanswerably refuted; but when they saw a daughter of the house of Noailles marry the marquis de Valliere, governour of Bourbonois; another pass from the bed of the marquis de Gondrin into that of the count de Toulouse, they cried that this house leaned on the king's left hand. The marshal de Noailles, who was more a philosopher than it is fit a courtier should be, with difficulty perceived that he had enemies.

In

In the count d' Ayen madame de Maintenon found an affectionate son and an obliging nephew. She gave him a thorough knowledge of the court; she trusted him with affairs of the greatest importance; she enabled him to render services to the state; she enforced the value of them, without demanding any reward: such was the return she made to his tenderness and assiduity.

CHAPTER II.

Marriages.

ALthough madame de Maintenon did not abuse her influence with the king, yet there were persons, who, through ambition and avarice, often abused that which they boasted of having over her. This intercourse of pretended friendship and real gratitude has always subsisted, and ever will. Courtiers are a kind of merchants, and it is the destiny of the favourites of our kings, whether disinterested or covetous, to be accused of sharing in these sordid gains.

To

To obtain a moment's audience of madame de Maintenon appeared of the highest consequence to the ladies of the court; one boasted of a conversation with her, which she had meanly solicited, as of the greatest happiness imaginable: another dated, from her toilet, her letters to her judges; this lady, reproved by madame de Maintenon in the king's name, came out of her closet with an air of satisfaction; that, not being able to sell madame de Maintenon's patronage, exacted a high price for her promise to procure it. All wrote her letters, in which they emulously strove to forget their birth, their dignity, and their pride.

The marchioness de *** was extremely disliked by madame de Maintenon; was sure of it, yet resolved to pass for her favourite. This lady was ambitious of marrying one of her daughters to the duke de ****; but she could give her no fortune, and, since the duke insisted upon this article, it was necessary to flatter him with the hope of an influence at court, which would be equally advantageous to him; but how should she get access to madame de Maintenon! who was as deaf to the importunity of pride as easy to modest indigence.

The

The marchioness had long wished to be admitted to her table, a distinction very seldom granted ; she again endeavoured to obtain this honour ; but without success. Since she could not dine with her, she must seem at least to have dined with her ; she went to visit her immediately after dinner, at the hazard of being coldly received.

Madame de Maintenon's apartment at Versailles has a balcony, which looks over the marble court. The marchioness de ***, perceiving the duke's equipage, pretended to be taken suddenly ill ; and, desiring some water and a napkin, she washed her mouth and her hands, as if she had just risen from table ; that very evening her daughter's marriage was concluded. The duke de **** thought himself extremely happy to marry without a portion a young lady whose mother had dined with madame de Maintenon.

At court no marriage was made without her knowledge and advice : there, it is interest only which forms every tie ; but these are imperfect, if royal favour has not a part in them. Madame de Maintenon signed the contracts of the duke de Richelieu, the marquis de Surville, the duke de
Bran-

Brancas, and many others; smiling without doubt at the meanness of adulation, which made the freest act of society depend upon the consent of the prince. She had not the same aversion for indigent widows, as she had for flattering dutchesses; these widows were called her *ladies of the palace*. She provided for them and their families with such unbounded generosity, that the marchioness de Dangeau one day said to her, 'These fair widows will ruin you at last.'

Human virtues, the children of self-love, always resemble their parent. Madame de Maintenon loved unfortunate orphans and widows, because she herself had been both. Indifferent to the homage paid her by the wealthy, she was nicely sensible of the affection of the poor. She heard with careless inattention the flatteries of a duke, and the moment afterwards listened with joy to the artless gratitude of a beggar, who called her mother. Hence those opposite opinions that were formed of her character, unequal, harsh, haughty, in the eyes of one part of the court; too good, too humble, in the eyes of the other.

CHAPTER III.

The Dauphin.

THE libertinism that reigned in the court was not likely to encrease the friends of a woman whose sole aim was to establish virtue there. The dauphin, after the death of his wife, lived with great irregularity; he loved madame de Roure, who was unfaithful to him, with an excess of passion, and treated the princess of Orleans with indifference, whose love for him was founded upon ambition.

The king, who hated mistresses with all the bitterness of a man whom they had ruined, debased, and almost damned, often said to the Dauphin, ‘Do not, my son, abandon yourself to women; you offend God; you give scandal to the people. A guilty passion is productive of short pleasures, but long and painful remorse; profit by my errors, and let me not at least have sinned in vain *.’

* The marquis de Dangeau’s Memoirs.

‘ errors,

The dauphin could not have chosen a mistress more displeasing to the king than the countess de Roure: she was ambitious, false, designing, and the king well knew how dangerous it was for a prince, admitted to all the councils, to love a woman of such a character. She had given his son an invincible dislike to a second marriage, and the father thought it still better to have a dauphiness than a mistress. Madame de Roure had as many desires as she saw men, as many favoured lovers as she had desires; and since the dauphin was resolved to damn himself, Lewis would have him preserve his honour at least.

The infamous conduct of this woman threatened the kingdom with the most shocking vices, and exposed the heir of it to the publick contempt. At one of those suppers at Meudon, where the restraint of the ceremonial was first banished by freedom, and afterwards a decent freedom by voluptuous ease, to which at length the most scandalous excesses of debauchery succeeded; the prince de Turenne, as he sat at table, burst into a loud laugh. The dauphin asked him the cause; the prince, after many evasions, at length said, 'I cannot help being excessively diverted, when I reflect

‘ flect that of nine of us who are here, Du
‘ Roure is the only one who had not lain
‘ with the countess.’

Madame de Maintenon was ordered by the king to make remonstrances to the dauphin upon the scandalous licentiousness of his conduct. The dauphin promised to quit madame du Roure ; to live regularly ; no longer to divide his nights between Champaigne and his libertine favourites ; to restore order to his house ; and to take less of that snuff which the king had such an aversion to, although a very considerable part of his revenue arose from it.

These promises were but ill performed ; the dauphin, weary of the uniformity of his life, complained that there was not a gentleman in France who had not more liberty than himself, renewed his visits to the countess de Roure, made long dinners with her, and still longer suppers.

The king was astonished that the dauphin did not obey him, as if the passions had a king. Madame de Maintenon turned the storm from the dauphin, and the countess de Roure was banished to Paris. The dauphin went privately there to visit her ; but all his motions were watched.
The

The king threatned to send his mistress out of his reach, 'Sire,' replied the dauphin, 'if your majesty should send her to the most distant part of the world, I will quit France to-morrow to go to live with her.'

The king, but little accustomed to these haughty answers, punished him, by banishing the countess to Montpellier. The publick, although they hate the mistress, yet are ever ready to justify the lover, attributed the king's displeasure to his jealousy of the dauphin. The merit of the son, they said, was a crime in the eyes of the distrustful father; he was dismissed from the council, because his inclination to relieve France raised uneasy apprehensions; he was removed from the court, because he disdained to cringe to a woman imperiously humble; he delivered himself up to pleasures with excess, because he was not permitted to enter into affairs of state with dignity; and a thousand ridiculous reports were circulated, which prove that a dauphin of France, in the opinion of the people, is never to blame.

The king was so great by his own eminent virtues, and so tender and affectionate a father, that none but mean and little souls could suspect him of envying his children.
He

He had admitted the dauphin at an early age into all the councils. At the taking of Philipsburg, he discovered an excess of tenderness for his son, and heard with pleasure this speech from the count de Grammont, ‘ Your majesty takes wolves
‘ like the dauphin, and the dauphin takes
‘ cities like your majesty.’

He often gave him the command of the armies, and put him in a condition to give terror to the enemies by the superiority of his troops, and to gain the affection of the soldiers by his liberality. When he returned from the campaign of 1694, in which journey he had travelled forty leagues in four days, he went to meet the dauphin, who, though not half so strong as the prince of Orange, guarded the frontiers, from the Escaut and the Lys to the ocean, and embracing him, shed tears of joy : but such is the malignity of men ; he who in his actions is an Augustus, must become a Tiberius by their suspicions.

The dauphin was incapable of attending to the affairs of state ; the easiness of his temper gave him up entirely to the government of his favourites ; he was virtuous when they were so, and when they were wicked, he launched with them into all the excesses of vice : he loved nothing
but

but hunting, war, and the pleasures of the table; satisfied with his rank of first subject, and seized with terror when he thought he should be one day more. The king often said to him, *What will become of France after my death?* The dauphin could hear him unmoved. Neither the confidence his father placed in him, his admission to the councils, nor the important affairs that were then under deliberation, could rouse him from his state of insensibility.

Lewis, grieved at this habitual indolence, initiated the duke of Burgundy, while yet scarce past a child, into all the secrets of the state. The little prince at first discovered no taste for this distinction; and the king complained that there was no one in his family who was willing to learn to reign. That whirlwind of affairs, in which he had been tost for forty years, proves better than a whole volume of morals, the hard condition of a king.

The dauphin retired to Meudon, and associated with the Vendômes, who were discontented with the court. There giving a collation to the princess of Conti his sister, that princess drank the health of *the old woman her mother-in-law*; and the dauphin, a little intoxicated perhaps with liquor,

liquor, drank to the health *of the old man*. The king and madame de Maintenon were informed of this indecent mirth. The dauphin perceived it by an unusual coldness in the behaviour of his father, and the princess his sister, by the refusal of a kiss from madame de Maintenon, who said to her, *No, madam, old women are never asked for a kiss.*

The duke de Rochfoucault acquired such an influence over the mind of the dauphin, that he reformed his manners and regulated his conduct, as if he had been appointed by the father for the favourite of the son. The princess of Conti repaired this imprudence by a conduct so uniformly wise, that she was pardoned, and pardoned for the last time.

The dauphin quitted madame du Roure, after having had a daughter by her, who was brought up in a convent in Paris, at a great expence. After his death madame du Courtaumer, sister to the countess du Roure, was in doubt how she should provide for the orphan's subsistence: 'Shall we make a chamber-maid of her,' said she, 'or let her still remain a princess?'

The king would not permit her to be legitimated, because the infamous conduct of her mother made it doubtful who
was

was her father : but the princess of Conti, moved to compassion by her youth and innocence, married her to monsieur Ménager, the same who negotiated the secret treaty with England.

The dauphin had amours with women of every rank. It was said that he kept mademoiselle de la Raifin, an actress remarkable for her genius, and famous for her intrigues. She had ruined financiers, princes, and foreigners, but she could not ruin the dauphin, who loved her a long time, with great tenderness and great frugality. He had a son by her, extremely like him in person and in mind, and who would have died in the most shameful poverty, if La Jonchere, treasurer for the extraordinary of war, the same who proposed to enrich France without trade, had not rescued him from it, by giving him his sister in marriage.

CHAPTER IV.

The dutchess of Bourbon.

MAdame de Maintenon, who had in vain attempted to reform the dauphin, hoped to be more successful with the dutchess of Bourbon. This princess was then idolized by the king, but she had no piety, and without that, he thought the chastity of no woman secure: an idea the most injurious imaginable to the sex.

The dutchess of Bourbon loved the pleasures of the table; he was apprehensive they would lead her into other excesses. All the courtiers admired her wit, and dreaded while they applauded it: she spared neither her brothers, her sisters, nor the *little duke* her husband, nor *queen Maintenon*, nor the son of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, nor even herself: her jests were wounds, which she aimed at all alike.

Madame de Maintenon was willing to indulge her in this fault: ‘She is a child,’ said she to the king, ‘her play will be harmless,

‘harmless, while she has the simplicity of a child.’ But as soon as she perceived that by too great indulgence, what seemed at first the effects of the levity of her temper, and the sprightliness of her wit, became unjust, malicious, and cruel, she prevailed upon the king to treat her with more severity; and her conduct was now strictly observed.

The favourites of princes are often spies upon their behaviour, and often the betrayers of their secrets. The king was informed, that at an entertainment given by the princess, the whole court was ridiculed in satirical songs. Corbinelli had been there; and he was the person the king fixed upon to give him intelligence of all that passed. Monsieur d’Argenson, the lieutenant de police, was sent to the house of the lame epicurian, to take his deposition.

The magistrate asked him where he supped such a night? ‘I do not remember,’ replied Corbinelli yawning. ‘Are you not acquainted with such and such princes?’ said the magistrate; ‘I think I have forgot,’ answered he. ‘Did you not sup with them?’ resumed the magistrate; ‘I remember nothing of the matter,’ said Corbinelli. ‘I think,’ said d’Argenson, ‘a man like you ought

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‘to

‘to remember these things.’ ‘Yes,’
‘monsieur,’ replied Corbinelli, ‘but be-
fore a man like you, I am never a man
like myself.’

Bad examples, dangerous advice, the austere manners of the court, which had even an influence over all amusements, threw the young dutchess into some irregularities. She was surrounded with women, who were continually lamenting the misfortune of having a heart so formed for tenderness, yet not permitted to love. She now made more exceptionable parties of pleasure; went secretly to Paris with madam de Blansac, had private interviews with monsieur de Marfan, and gave sufficient employment to the dutchess de Valentinois, who was grown old in the arts of intrigue, and readily engaged in her service.

The king was informed of his daughter’s bad conduct; the ladies who had greatly contributed to it were forbid the court; monsieur de Marfan was banished; and madame de Maintenon was directed to make severe remonstrances to the princess. Her reproofs were accompanied with so much gentleness, that the princess, attributing to timidity a moderation which the sweetness of her temper suggested to her,
haughtily

haughtily answered, ‘ Do you expect, madam, that I shall in a few days become devout and pedantick like yourself? I only do what you did at my age.’

Madame de Maintenon might possibly have forgot these injurious words, but the princess boasted of having said them. A month before she would have thrown herself at the king’s feet, to implore his pardon for her faults; but, after associating with women of infamous characters, she became more bold; and was so far from using endeavours to obtain it, that she seemed resolved to despise it, if offered. Secure that the king would not have resolution enough to punish her, she engaged in new amours, in revenge for the measures that had been taken to put an end to the old; transported at being beloved by subjects, as if it reduced her to an equality with them; they loving her through ambition, as if that love exalted them to princes.

I would much more willingly have suppressed these shameful intrigues; but besides that, they are related elsewhere with partial bitterness, the corruption of manners among the great, by allowing an extreme licence to honour, restores history to its liberty.

Lewis by turns employed the tenderness of a father, and the authority of a king, to restrain this licentiousness; but found that he must be contented to wait till age had abated the force of these first passions. He often used to say, that he found it more difficult to govern his family than his kingdom; the one he saw himself, the other he only saw through his ministers.

Madame de Maintenon was as severe upon licentiousness of manners, as she was indulgent towards those who wrote satires against her. If she had been inclined to take revenge for those injurious ballads, which at Paris were punished, but were sung at court, she might have said, like all other favourites, that her character was no longer her own; that in her person the prince was attacked; that she could readily forgive the injury done to herself, but the affront aimed at the king excluded all pardon: she made none of those vain and ridiculous distinctions of false generosity, which would at once enjoy the glory of clemency, and the pleasure of revenge.

But although in publick she appeared to despise the censures of malignity, yet those who were admitted to an intimacy with her, perceived that she was greatly affected

affected with them. ' I am not surprised,' said she to one of her friends, ' that my conduct while I was young is suspected, since so many women born in affluence, and united to the most agreeable men, yet yield every day either to the offers of avarice, or the persuasions of love : how should they believe it possible for a young woman to be virtuous, and be distressed ?'

' Those,' said she to madame de Glapion, ' who tear my reputation in pieces, have not known me ; those who have, knew that I lived irreproachably in that gay and agreeable society, which it is so difficult to mix among without danger ; but their known friendship for me, my amazing elevation, and the malignity of those who sit in judgment upon my actions, renders their testimony doubtful. It is a great misfortune when we do not finish our lives, with the same persons with whom we begin it.' Nothing can more sensibly wound a delicate mind, than to have a reputation to defend.

An incident of no great consequence raised new murmurs against her in Paris. The marchioness de Lancé kept almost open house ; there was always deep play

there, very free conversations, but good company, or what was thought to be so. They were drawn thither by two young girls, who practised all the arts of coquetry to gain admirers, and all the severity of virtue to keep them.

The marchioness de Lancé, who was as much esteemed as if she had merited it, as much respected as if she had not lived by lansquenets, and passionately beloved, although she exacted as much homage as if she had been a princess, raised envy among all those women, who were surprised that no one chose to waste his time or lose his money with them.

They discovered that she was not the widow of the marquis de Lancé; and they afterwards found that no such person as the marquis de Lancé had ever existed. They reported that this pretended marchioness, after a youth spent in libertine pleasures, had made a match for herself, which had enabled her to gratify all her passions; that, being the dupe of her lovers, she duped in her turn, all those who resorted to her house to game; they took away her quality; her sex became a problem. Notwithstanding these scandalous censures her house was still supported; they made a party against her

her among the devotees, who said, that the grossest crimes were practised there.

Madame de Maintenon's piety was alarmed; the adventurer had orders to leave Paris, and her two girls were shut up in a convent. Pharon was prohibited under severe penalties, but the king did not prohibit it to himself; and the court never game more than at that time. The people will always despise those laws which are violated by the prince, who is, however, most bound by them, since he cannot game but at the expence of others.

As soon as gaming-houses were shut up, societies of wit were opened. This taste became general: every one affected it, the nobles more than any others; and letters were ruined: they protected them and debased them; they listened to verses, yet hated poetry; they lived with learned men, yet neither esteemed nor respected them.

Those who were fond of theatrical amusements, murmured at the king's rigour, in banishing the Italian comedians for having, notwithstanding his express order to the contrary, played some licentious pieces before his children. Their true crime,

they said, was their having painted madame de Maintenon under the title of the *false prude*; and these two lines in a tragedy which was then played, were applied to her.

Qu'eut-elle pour monter au rang d'impératrice ?

Un peu d'attraits peut-être, & beaucoup d'artifice.

‘ What had she t’ assume, th’ imperial part ?

‘ A few attractions, and a world of art.’

ELPHINSTON.

Madame de Maintenon, when she was informed of these murmurs against her, said to one of her friends, ‘ Daughter, it is dangerous to be the favourite of kings.’ A man of honour will not write satires, but he is not displeased that they are wrote; were it not for such writings, the great would think themselves gods.

The king executed his scheme of reforming the manners of the court, notwithstanding the complaints of those that were interested in opposing it. If it had been sooner begun, or if it had not been overthrown by a licentious regency, the character of the nation would have been changed :

changed: and what should we have become? we whom superstition had already loaded with so many chains! to regulate a kingdom with the austerity of a convent, was a notion inspired by fanaticism.

However, the royal family gave the example of regularity to the court; vice no longer raised its head, but judged by the commandments of God, it was punished with rigour: piety, or what assumed the appearance of it, could alone obtain favours from the king; even the heroines of Bussy were converted; the cloister was the only assylum now left for such as had lost their reputation; till then it was believed, that honour once lost could never be recovered. The king, while he endeavoured to establish piety, introduced only false devotion, which has no resemblance to it.

CHAPTER V.

Mademoiselle Chouin.

THE dauphin, who had long indulged himself in a course of licentiousness, became suddenly reformed: a fixed and violent passion, swallowed up all his other passions. She who inspired it, was still ignorant of her power; and the devotees attributed to their pious exhortations, that change which love only had produced.

Mademoiselle Chouin had subjected this libertine, and knew it not. The prince saw her every day at the toilet of the princess of Conti his sister, who made no distinction between this young beauty, and the rest of her women.

Mademoiselle Chouin forced herself into notice, by the extreme attention she shewed to acquit herself of all the duties of her place. The majesty in her countenance, the wit that sparkled in her eyes, her graceful reserve, all displayed the dignity of her soul; every charm of nature, profusely

profusely lavished over her whole person, seemed to reproach fortune for the meanness of her station, and invited the prince to repair this injustice. Mademoiselle Chouin, when employed in the lowest offices of her place, had so much dignity in her manner, so much grace in her actions, that while waiting on the princess, she seemed herself to be attended or deserving to be so. The mistress was distinguished by the shape and stature of a divinity, the servant by that air of virtue, which ennobles all conditions.

The dauphin's frequent visits to his sister, raised suspicions of his being in love with her. The report of this criminal passion was propagated in mysterious whispers; the more improbable it was, the easier it gained belief: his favourites no longer doubted it, but durst not endeavour to sound the heart of a master, who was now cautious for the first time.

Madame de Maintenon rejected this suspicion through decency, and admitted it through the force of example. The king, who never knew that it is the inclination which makes the crime, intreated madame de la Valliere to exhort her daughter not to love, and not to suffer herself to be loved.

The

The princess of Conti being informed by the carmelite's letters that she was beloved, and by the assiduity and unusual silence of the dauphin, that it was by her brother, found her vanity more raised by the passion, than her virtue terrified at the incest which she well knew could never be committed. But at length, being tired of the uncertainty, not daring to ask any questions, disgusted with the importunity of visits, without knowing their purport, and perhaps suspected, without the least inclination to be guilty, she intreated the dauphin to dispence with her from receiving his visits in a morning.

The prince, who could only see mademoiselle Chouin at the toilet, and who had not hitherto formed a further wish, continued to visit his sister in her own apartment at noon. There without uttering a word, without turning his eyes, with calm and delighted attention, he contemplated her he loved.

This mute homage was neither understood by the princess nor her attendant. At length a billet explained it to mademoiselle de Chouin, who refused to receive it, but refused with respect: a great number of other billets are given with the same secrecy,

crefy, and rejected with the same rigour. The prince became every day more passionately enamoured of her whose unhappy situation melted him to compassion, whose beauty charmed him, and whose haughty virtue despised his offers.

The princess of Conti, tired of her brother's affiduities, confided to mademoiselle Chouin her suspicions of his incestuous passion. 'Ah, no madam,' replied mademoiselle Chouin, shocked at the injurious suspicion, 'it is not you he loves, it is myself.' The princess of Conti, either through pique at being undeceived, when the error was so agreeable, or indignation at so free and presumptuous a confession, or perhaps, because she was apprehensive that a passion so meanly placed would debase the lover and exalt the mistress, inveighed with great bitterness against mademoiselle Chouin, who assured her that she had not even read the billets. She was not believed: the unhappy beauty begs she may be permitted to leave her; she is forbid to go out of the palace, to complain, to love, and to please.

Mademoiselle Chouin flew to madame d' Epinoy, who had placed her with the princess of Conti; she related to her the shocking suspicions her mistress had entertained;

tained ; her own imprudence in removing them out of respect to the dauphin ; she assured her she was absolutely indifferent to his passion ; and that her honour, her virtue, and a just resentment would not permit her to continue any longer in the court.

The princess of Epinoy, who was apprehensive that this affair would raise great scandal, and that it would be imputed to her, endeavoured to reconcile what she owed to the piety she professed, and the respect due to the dauphin and the princess, whose confidant she was ; and persuading herself that mademoiselle Chouin was prudent and virtuous enough to resist all the allurements of a prince's love, advised her to continue in the service of the princess of Conti.

The dauphin, who was wholly ignorant of what had happened, went at the usual hour to visit the princess his sister ; he no longer sees mademoiselle Chouin ; he dares not ask where she is ; he trembles lest his passion has been discovered, and is convinced it is when he finds that several days pass away, and still she does not appear ; he seeks for her every where ; she flies him ; their loves are crossed before they
know

know they are beloved, before they have told each other that they love.

It is probable that mademoiselle Chouin felt no other sentiments for the prince than what gratitude inspired, such gratitude as persons of low rank feel for the great who condescend to love them ; but the dauphin burnt with all those fires which a passion so much the more ardent, as it is irregular and ill placed, kindles in the heart of a melancholy man.

He revenged himself upon his sister for her cruel precautions, by excluding her from all his parties of pleasure. The princess, who was always more happy at Meudon than at Versailles, regretted the loss of her influence in the court of her brother ; she soon guessed the cause of his coldness, and foreseeing that all resistance must end in submission, she pretended to grant freely to the merit of mademoiselle Chouin, what sooner or later she must be forced to grant to the power of the dauphin ; she appointed her her maid of honour, and gave her all the prerogatives annexed to this place.

Mademoiselle Chouin, either because she was apprehensive that she should be too much exposed to the solicitations of her lover, or because she knew that to despise
the

the favours of fortune is the surest way to merit and acquire them, conjured the princess to leave her in her humble station, and promised to serve her her whole life, without pretending to any higher honour, and without murmuring at her present situation. The dauphin joined his intreaties to the princess of Conti's offers; but this furnished her with a new reason for not accepting of them.

Madame d'Epinoÿ is at length desired to urge her to consent. Mademoiselle Chouin represented to her, that she was only the sport of the princess, who was ready to banish her, in obedience to the king, as to retain her to please the dauphin; she reminded her of all that had passed before, and maintained that it was her duty to avoid a rank which after all was but the first step to vice or to scandal; a benefaction of the dauphin's, a reward for the sentiments he hoped to inspire, or for the compliances his imagination had dared to promise him.

The devotee, who expected by her means to govern in the dauphin's household, accommodated her virtue to her interest, and persisted in advising her to continue with the princess of Conti, under whatever title she pleased.

Madame

Madame d' Epinoy, finding all the arguments she could urge were ineffectual, employed the authority of madame de Maintenon, to whom mademoiselle Chouin was represented as a young woman, whose uncommon merit and virtue rendered her more worthy than any other for the place of maid of honour to the princess of Conti. She acquainted her with mademoiselle's refusal to accept of the place ; but was silent with regard to the dauphin's passion for her, upon which that refusal was founded.

Madame de Maintenon sent for this young girl, whose name she now heard for the first time : struck with her noble air and graceful modesty, she envied the princess of Conti the possession of such a treasure ; and, with all the warmth of friendship, pressed her to accept of the place that was offered to her.

Mademoiselle Chouin was going to declare her reasons for refusing it ; but madame de Maintenon silenced her by saying, ' I know all, however you ought to obey.' She afterwards reproached herself for these words, which seemed to insinuate that she really knew all, when the event shewed that madame d' Epinoy had
con-

concealed every thing from her which she ought to have known. Mademoiselle Chouin yielded at length, surprised without doubt, and perhaps secretly pleased to find so much ready compliance with the passions of the great, in two women so reserved and devout.

Mademoiselle Chouin, now the constant companion of the princess, received every day the adoration of the dauphin; but with an indifference that left him no hope of succeeding. She did not deign even to avoid him, or to seem alarmed at his pretensions; in love she, who complains of being attacked, almost confesses she will soon be subdued; her mind was not altered by her change of condition; she was contented with her present lot; and indifferent about the future.

Notwithstanding the dauphin's caution, and the extreme rigour of his mistress, their loves were soon discovered. The courtiers added, to the little they had seen, all that they imagined, and even what they did not believe. The hall of Marly had never before been filled with so many malicious censures; see, cried they, the use that is made of piety. In the dauphin it conceals a mean and ill placed passion; in mademoiselle Chouin it masks the most refined

refined coquetry; in madame de Maintenon and in the princess d'Epinoy, it is subordinate to views sufficiently profane: as for the princess of Conti, it must be owned she does not degenerate; it is natural for the daughter of madame de la Valliere, to give mistresses to the sons of kings.

The princess of Conti, enraged at these injurious reports, was determined to silence them by dismissing mademoiselle Chouin. Madame de Epinoy, being informed of her design, ran to her, and intreated her not to sacrifice innocence to the malice of the publick, whose rash censures would subside of themselves.

The dauphin conjured his sister to spare his tenderness this cruel stroke, and threatened to revenge the insult as soon as it was given. Mademoiselle Chouin, calm in the midst of the storm, by which so many other persons were agitated, resigned herself to her destiny, without wishing for a greater rank, or dreading a fall, as indifferent to the convent as the court, superior to the prince who adored her, and to the princess who banished her.

Then it was that madame de Maintenon, the princess de Conti, and madame d'Epinoy,

d'Epinoy, engaged in that correspondence of letters, which at first turned only upon mademoiselle Chouin, and was afterwards extended to all the intrigues of the court : so secret that not one of the courtiers suspected it ; so curious that the princess, in the last years of her life, read it often with pleasure, and dying, left it to a physician, whom she greatly esteemed, as a pledge of the most unbounded confidence ; so free, if we may judge of it by some fragments which furnished me with these facts, that it will not be published till after the death of certain persons, whose vices or follies are there discovered and ridiculed.

Mademoiselle Chouin quitted the palace of the princess, and took refuge in the house of Madame d'Epinoy. There the dauphin saw her with less constraint, but with as little success, he was not able to force a sigh from her, nor to engage her to speak ; he found her always attentive but silent, always complaisant but insensible : yet love doubtless acted upon her heart ; for how is it possible to be so passionately beloved without loving ? But this love was so weak, so subjected to reason, so restrained by virtue, that her mind had all the freedom of indifference, though possibly all the sensibility of love.

Madame

Madame d'Epinoy was apprehensive that the dauphin's frequent visits, suspicious if secret, and censurable if known, would hurt her reputation, and irritate the king against her. Having no other means to avoid this misfortune, she sacrificed her friend to her own interest and honour, and begged her, though with great decency, to quit her hôtel. Mademoiselle Chouin went to Paris, hired a little apartment, changed her name, and there thought herself secure against the search of the father, and the importunity of the son.

The dauphin not doubting but that she was confined in a convent by an order from the king, flew to madame de Maintenon, who declared that she did not know what was become of her. He went again to madame d'Epinoy, who, not daring to confess that she had sent her away, strengthened his suspicions by her evasive answers.

The prince caused the offices of the secretaries of state to be examined, but they afforded him no intelligence. The more he searched for her, the more he was convinced that she was carried away by a verbal order, without any of those forms, which are a kind of homage that tyranny,

ranny, in the midst of its violations of right, dare not refuse to the majesty of the laws. The king, who was informed of his uneasiness, feared and avoided a dangerous explanation, which must oblige him to speak like a severe father, and perhaps to hear the answers of a desperate lover.

The marquis d'Antin promised the dauphin, that he would soon discover where his mistress was either detained or concealed: but all his enquiries were for a long time useless; there was not a convent in Paris, or a commissary of any quarter that could give him intelligence of her. At length he learned that she lodged in the Fauxbourg St. Jaques, which the lieutenant de police knew before he did. The dauphin, whose every motion was watched, went to see her in a disguise, which, however, could not deceive the spies that were set over him. The prince knocked at the door of her chamber; mademoiselle Chouin opened it, knew him, and shut it instantly again. The prince wasted part of the night in the house with his favourite, who endeavoured to console him, while in his heart he cursed the prince, the mistress, prudery, and love.

Mademoiselle Chouin changed her lodging; the prince followed her step by step; but

but she was always inaccessible, either because she was apprehensive that his designs were dishonourable, or that she hoped by her resistance, to oblige him to have honourable ones. The dauphin became more ardent in proportion, as his mistress became more inexorable. The marquis d'Antin endeavoured to take him off this pursuit, by constantly maintaining to him, that every day he would find his difficulties encreased: the prince as constantly replied, 'That the more he suffered, the less he had to suffer.'

The king, who seemed to foresee the consequences of this passion, resolved to break, by his authority, an attachment which he reproached himself with not having opposed in its birth. He deliberated with himself, whether he should not have mademoiselle Chouin confined in one of the provincial convents. Mademoiselle Chouin had nothing for her but her virtue, and Madame de Maintenon who protected virtue wherever she found it.

Lewis, too much accustomed to consider himself as a king, who may do every thing, and not enough as the father of a family, whose will ought to be regulated by the laws, thought the sovereign authority would be justly employed in re-

storing tranquility to his family. It seemed to him very indifferent, whether a young woman was detained in a monastery or confined in a prison, and that to displease him, was to be sufficiently guilty.

He was upon the point of giving this cruel and unjust order, when madame de Maintenon represented to him, that all the crimes of madame Chouin were to be beautiful, to be beloved, and to be virtuous; that if she had yielded, she would have been under the dauphin's protection; that having resisted, she ought to be under his. 'When the people,' said she, 'hear that mademoiselle Chouin is imprisoned, they will ask how vice is to be treated, since such eminent virtue is punished thus severely; such violent remedies will encrease, not cure the disease: time and the inflexible virtue of mademoiselle Chouin, will effect more than all your authority; she has none of that ambition, that love of grandeur, that taste for pleasure, which prevail upon women to yield to the passions of princes, and induce them to feign a love for them.'

The king yielded to the force of these arguments, and left the dauphin to pursue his mistress to every new retreat, and to all the agonies of his despair, at not being

being able to obtain a moment's conversation with her. Mademoiselle Chouin received all his letters without opening one. At length curiosity prevailed over this rigid delicacy; she read his letters, she found them full of tenderness and respect; the torments so well described there, raised her compassion; the oaths so often repeated, without daring to demand or expecting any thing from her in return, gained her belief; a sentiment more tender than pity stole upon her heart, and increased in the silence of solitude, to which she had condemned herself.

No woman can with impunity indulge thoughts of love. Unperceived by herself she formed hopes and expectations; she thought herself at least equal to the prince, who was subjected to her; and, without guessing whither her destiny would lead her, she perceived this affair must end gloriously for her.

Her ideas, at first confused and uncertain, grew clearer and more determined every day; sure of being loved without frailty on her side, and with constancy on the side of the prince, the elevation of her mind, the dignity of her virtue, would not allow her to imagine that he intended to debase her by proposals, which mean

desires suggest, but which love condemns : however, she would not venture to see him, that would have been to permit him to hope, and hope gave him a right to make attempts upon her virtue.

The dauphin at length gained admittance into her closet, through the treachery of her servant ; he threw himself at her feet, he conjured her to listen to him a moment, and left her mistress of his fate. Mademoiselle Chouin beheld the heir of the throne at her feet : without shewing any concern for his humiliation, or any joy at her own power, and said only these few words to him : ‘ My lord, if it be true
‘ that you love me, you have but one
‘ word to say to me, and I have but one
‘ to hear ; but this word you have neither liberty to utter nor I to hear, till we
‘ have the king’s consent.’ She then intreated him to leave her, with the same tone that she would have commanded him.

The prince, reflecting upon this answer, the only one he had ever yet been able to obtain from her, found in it more ambition than love : but he soon persuaded himself, that virtue had no other language ; love he thought had elevated the soul of his mistress ; and perhaps he believed that the noblest effort of this passion, was to guard

guard against seduction, at the hazard of being thought ungrateful. He placed his highest happiness in being united to mademoiselle Chouin ; and doubtless he flattered himself, that this union was, from the same sentiments, as ardently desired by her. Great as he was by birth, his mistress was in his eyes greater by her virtue ; the more he reflected upon her words, the less he was surprised, that she should aspire to what he would have already offered, if he had been free ; to what, restrained as he was, he was going to offer. But how should he obtain the king's consent so plainly required ? to ask it was imprudent, and not to ask it was criminal.

He told mademoiselle Chouin, that the king had granted him every thing that was desired : all difficulties were now removed. She believed, or feigned to believe him. She was afterwards blamed for not requiring a greater security ; but that fear, so natural to persons in her situation, of ruining all by delay, the necessity of breaking with the dauphin, if she examined too nicely into the truth of what he told her, the pleasure which on such occasions we have in being deceived, that inclination to deceive one's self, the hope that if the king was not already informed of it, he would, when all was over, be

easily prevailed upon to pardon it, the certainty of being protected by the dauphin, who was going to unite his destiny to her's, all concurred to justify her credulity, or to excuse her dissimulation.

The marriage was solemnized, according to some at Meudon, to others at Livri. It is said that madame de Maintenon and the bishop of Meaux approved of it; but this is very improbable. Madame de Maintenon would not have thought herself dispensed with from informing the king of the dauphin's design, who would certainly have opposed it; and the bishop of Meaux could not be ignorant, that a dauphin of France is never at liberty to dispose of himself. Madame de Epinoy was let into the secret, and offered her house to mademoiselle de Chouin, who was a heroine in her eyes before she married the dauphin, and a mere woman afterwards.

Madame de Chouin, however, required more regularity in the conduct of her husband, more order in his household, less confidence in his domesticks; and prevailed upon him to retrench the superfluities of his table, which had always been served with an excess of delicacy. She flattered herself, that by reforming him, she should procure

procure his pardon of the king, for a marriage so disproportionate. Never man was so suddenly or so compleatly reformed. The dauphin became benevolent, frugal, and devout; the king blessed heaven for this unhopèd-for change, attributed it to mademoiselle de Chouin, and could not believe that his son's connexion with her was either criminal or lawful.

After the new-married pair had disposed the king to tolerate their union, they resolved to free themselves from that anxiety which interrupted their happiness, by telling him what they might now confess without shame, but could not conceal without danger. However, the dauphin would not venture to tell him his whole secret, either through prudence or timidity; he chose rather to ask his consent to a marriage that was not yet completed, than his pardon for having completed it without his knowledge.

In one of those conversations, when the king's easy familiarity banished that restraint, which the dauphin's extreme respect for him laid him under, he assumed courage enough to open his whole heart to his father. He told him, that he loved a person who alone could make him happy, whose disposition he knew, whose virtue he

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had tried ; that, on this occasion, the dictates of his conscience were the same with the impulses of his love, and both agreed with his inclination for a retired and irreproachable life ; but that he could not pursue this design, till it was approved by paternal authority,

Perceiving that he was listened to without surprise or resentment, he added, that, without making any extraordinary effort over himself, he could despise that unreasonable prejudice which condemns princes to love none but princesses ; that he had not been happy with a dauphiness ; that his mistresses had debased him ; that in mademoiselle de Chouin he found every thing except birth ; but that he would rely with confidence upon the will of a father, who was well acquainted with all the force, the delicacy, and generosity of love, and knew how necessary it was for the great to have a companion, who, through gratitude, will at once share their pains and pleasures.

The king entering his closet, said, ‘ Son, consider well of this affair, and speak to me of it no more.’ Words full of wisdom and tenderness, which did not hinder him from cancelling the marriage, if the good of the state or the honour of the royal

royal family required it, and, without wounding his authority, permitted the dauphin to conclude it, while they left him no hope of ever making it publick.

It is with pleasure that I relate these little anecdotes ; we love to know that the masters of the world feel, act, and think like men. By such examples, kings are taught to act like philosophers ; a neighbouring nation has seen the daughter of its king marry a subject, without thinking the princess debased, or the subject too much honoured by this alliance : such marriages are no where else thought surprizing, but amongst us.

While the dauphin was happy in the possession of the wife he loved, the publick were marrying him every day : they said, that the queen of Spain waited only for the death of her husband to become wholly French ; and that in reward for the throne, which she secured by her cabals to the dauphin, the dauphin had promised her his hand ; that the countess of Berlips had been gained over ; that the marquis of Harcourt had first laid this scheme, hence the emperor's refusal to give the arch-duke the government of Milan, and a thousand other circumstances decisive, for those who admit

as a fact what they explain by others that have often no connexion with it.

This marriage, though a secret to the publick, was known by the courtiers. The dauphin passed his days at the hôtel of madame d' Epinoy, and mademoiselle de Chouin spent whole months at Meudon, where all obeyed her. When the dutchess of Burgundy was informed of this news, she said, 'What fine alliances this family makes?' she was doubtless ignorant of the history of her own. Upon a recovery from a dangerous illness, she said to the duke of Burgundy, 'If I had died would you have made the third volume of your family?'

Madame de Maintenon expressed no dislike of this marriage; it justified her own; it confirmed her rank. Whether the dauphin, after the king's death, was influenced by good or bad councils, he could never make it a crime in her to have prevailed upon his father to have entered into an engagement which he had imitated himself. Her humility would be a reproach to mademoiselle de Chouin, if she was raised to a higher rank; and a model, if she remained in obscurity. Nothing could have more effectually excluded madame de Maintenon from the throne; if
she

she had aspired to it, she certainly would have prevented this marriage.

She had the most sincere esteem for mademoiselle Chouin; but whether it was that she was secure of not displeasing the dauphin, or that she thought the dignity of her station obliged her to depend upon the king alone, without hoping or fearing from any other, her connexions with mademoiselle de Chouin were absolutely secret. She never saw her in publick, nor paid her any of those honours which would have put the whole court at her feet, and spared at least the princes of the blood that kind of affront. This conduct does not seem of a piece with her general character; but it was necessary at first, while the marriage was yet uncertain or ought to appear so.

The report of mademoiselle de Chouin's being with child greatly perplexed the king, who was unwilling to make his son uneasy, or to give other brothers to the duke of Burgundy. By some this report is believed to be false; by others we are assured that she was privately brought to bed. Madame de Maintenon, who had no open connexion with her while children were expected, did not think it necessary

to alter her conduct when that fear was removed.

Madame d' Epinoy informed her of all that past at Meudon, and all that past there gave her a high idea of mademoiselle de Chouin ; the king at length went to Meudon every year, and madame de Maintenon had an apartment there. Mademoiselle de Chouin never appeared, but regulated all the amusements ; she was insensible to honours ; she did not desire any rank ; she was satisfied with her own esteem.

When mademoiselle d' Osmond married, madame de Maintenon, among other instructions which she gave her, added, ' When the king is dead, you will possibly see mademoiselle de Chouin very powerful at court ; but whether she has a high rank there, or whether she disdain to have it, always treat her with the greatest respect.'

Madame de Glapion, superiour of Saint-Cyr, supposing her to be the dauphin's mistress, asked madame de Maintenon why that girl was not banished from the court ! ' That girl,' replied madame de Maintenon, ' we are happy in having her ; she behaves with great prudence, she is of great use to us : it is to her we owe
' the

‘ the dauphin’s reformation, and the advantageous light he now appears in to his father and to the whole kingdom.’

After this marriage the father and the son became every day more firmly united. The king was continually giving him new marks of his esteem and friendship; he ordered that the dauphin’s warrants should be paid at the treasury in the same manner as his own, by which he associated him in the highest privilege of supreme power. The king, after acquainting the dauphin with the grant he had made him, said to madame de Maintenon, ‘ You will now, madam, confess, that I know how to make valuable presents;’ ‘ and you, sire,’ replied she, ‘ will acknowledge, that the dauphin is incapable of abusing them.’ The dauphin fulfilled this promise. His prodigality was repressed by mademoiselle de Chouin, who attained to the glory of an accomplished wife, if it be true that it consists in being forgot, and almost unknown.

CHAPTER VI.

Domestick disquiets.

IT was to that kind of glory that madame de Maintenon would have aspired; but it was not compatible with her situation, and this opposition between her love of freedom, and the constraint she was subjected to by her station, gave rise to all her uneasiness. In vain she endeavoured to unite happiness and grandeur; they are seldom to be found together. It was her business to chase away languor from a king whose passions were all blunted, who had no longer any taste to gratify, nor any inclination to sooth.

Lewis the Fourteenth, who amongst us appeared the first of mortals, had great talents from nature; he knew mankind; he was capable of infinite application, and had acquired so much experience, that he was always the ablest man in his council; but his understanding had not been improved, and like all other princes, whose education is neglected, there was a vacu-

ity in his mind, which made it impossible for him to be alone a moment. He no longer sought pleasure, or if he did, he found it only in freedom from pain; a continual uneasiness made him ever varying his occupation and his place; he had little imagination; he had acquired no ideas by reading, therefore his conversation was barren and dry; he talked only of what he had seen himself; and a monarch, whose thoughts are wholly engrossed by ambition, who is fatigued by business, and inaccessible through state, can see but very little.

Hunting was his favourite diversion; but when he returned into himself he found the same lassitude of soul as body. In private he offered nothing to his friends and confidants, but a heart worn out with pleasures, a capricious temper, a mind lethargick, or filled with state-affairs, still desirous, but incapable of amusement, soliciting joy, which always flies from those that invoke its presence

Such was the prince whose mind madame de Maintenon must awaken to sensibility, whose attention she must engage by new efforts of imagination: a prince, who had either all Europe, or nothing in his head; whose passions had been unfixed,

ed, and whose tastes were ever varying ; who had loved the dutchess of Orleans, and disdained la Valliere ; who had doted on la Valliere, and despised Montespan ; who had adored Montespan, and hated Maintenon ; that Maintenon, whom afterwards he almost raised to the throne.

All the respect and tenderness with which he treated her could not indemnify her for the slavery to which she was condemned ; the opposition she was obliged to endure ; the perfidy to which she was a witness ; the censures she incurred ; nor even for that adulation formerly so pleasing to her vanity, but detested ever since God had centered all her thoughts within himself.

The king, seeing her one day melancholy and reserved, said, ‘ What ! madam, are you sad ? ’ From that time he never surprised her in any dejection of spirits. Before him she always appeared with an air of gaiety and satisfaction. ‘ My sole ambition,’ said she, ‘ is to bring the king to God ; he has an aversion to melancholy ; if he did not always see me easy and serene he would hate devotion.’ As soon as the king went out of her apartment she would throw herself upon

upon her bed, and give free course to her sighs and tears.

‘ I have sometimes seen her,’ says mademoiselle d’Aumale, ‘ when languid with sickness, sinking through fatigue, and oppressed with uneasiness, recal her scattered spirits, assume an air of gaiety, and entertain the king alone for four hours successively, without repetition or scandal. When his majesty went out of her chamber at ten o’ clock at night, and her women had drawn the curtains of her bed, she would say to me, sighing, I have but just strength enough to tell you, that I can hold it no longer. After she had been refused some trifling favour, which she had solicited for one of her relations, she said to me,

‘ If I would take the trouble to shew a little resentment, I should obtain every thing I desire ; but it is my part to suffer in silence. The king is extremely complaisant ; he tells me every day, that all I have to do is to make my demands ; but our princes know not how to confer voluntary favours.’

‘ I have sometimes seen her,’ adds mademoiselle d’ Aumale, ‘ so oppressed with uneasiness that she has been ready to quit the court. *Oh ! that I could leave*
‘ this

‘ *this place,*’ she cried, ‘ *but I am no longer*
‘ *mistress of my own actions ; why, Oh ! my*
‘ *God, why hast thou bound me to it ?*’

Often when alone in her closet with me, she would with tears and sighs exclaim,
‘ *How tyrannical are men ? they are not ca-*
‘ *pable of the delicacy of friendship : the king*
‘ *is good among the best ; but there is some-*
‘ *thing to suffer from them all, and doubtless*
‘ *God permits my sufferings to wean my mind*
‘ *from the world, which would be too much*
‘ *attached to it by the adoration that is paid*
‘ *me, or rather to the rank I fill, if I had*
‘ *not some uneasiness to suffer : none but those,*
‘ *who live like me, can know how hard it is to*
‘ *live.*’

It was necessary indeed to live with her to know exactly from whence these cares and all this repining proceeded ; her’s were not imaginary ills. Although she often laboured under dejection of spirits, she was incapable of nourishing melancholy thoughts. She was not pressed by necessity ; she was so disinterested, that the king had not many desires to prevent ; she was not offended by continual opposition, for the ministers had scarce any other will but her’s, and the king gave them an example of unbounded respect to her. ‘ *She is a saint ;*’ said he sometimes, ‘ *every perfection is*
‘ *her’s ;*

‘ her’s ; for strength of mind and solid
‘ judgment, few men can equal her.’

Mademoiselle d’Aumale is silent with regard to the subject of her uneasiness : however, no person knew it better than her ; she scarce ever quitted her, she partook of all her amusements, she shared in all her griefs, she was pious, active, tender, and sincere. The distinguishing regard shewn her by madame de Maintenon, drew her the homage of the whole court, which she rejected with a greatness of mind, that endeared her to the friend whose esteem and affection she only sought to cultivate.

Probably madame de Maintenon, who aspired to a perfect purity of manners, hated those evenings in which her duty obliged her to compliances her inclination was averse to ; compliances indifferent in themselves, but which the severity of devotion abhors, as violations of modesty, or only tolerates in compassion to human frailty, although when lawful, they are more holy than the strictest celibacy.

The king used to enter her apartment at nine o’clock at night. She was already in bed, all her servants were dismissed, the king went softly and with the utmost caution to bolt the door, and at ten o’clock
un-

unbolted it with the same mystery. Such concessions must doubtless be very mortifying to a woman, who was as much raised above passion, as the vanity of inspiring it, who, instead of adorning her person, carried about those instruments of penitence, armed with points of steel, invented in all religions by ferocious monks, by fervent piety approved, but by enlightened piety, perhaps condemned.

As the king advanced in years, madame de Maintenon's situation became more disagreeable; he no longer saw his ministers but through habit, his gardens through some remains of taste, and madame de Maintenon because she was still esteemed by him. His frequent and long protracted visits to her, continually shewed her the value of that freedom which she so little knew, while it was in her power to have enjoyed it, and which she regretted as soon as she had lost it. She loved society, and she was condemned to a barren conversation; she panted after freedom, and she lived in slavery; she hated splendour, and she was surrounded with it; she was so frank, that the duke of Burgundy used to say, *she is sincere and that is all*; yet she was incessantly forced to dissemble: she might have been patient under her load of grandeur, but when the dis-

ease

ease is in the blood, there is no removing it. 'I can hold it no longer,' said she one day to the count d'Aubigné her brother, 'I wish I were dead.' 'You have then a promise,' answered d'Aubigné, 'to marry God the father.'

The king's temper, which was not free from caprice, was another source of uneasiness to her; he expected infinite attention, though he seemed to exact none: he was like all men, harsh, insolent, and tyrannical to their wives, incapable of that delicate tenderness which women so well know, treating like slaves, such as by the first institution of marriage, were designed for their companions: a husband seldom makes a woman happy, a king and husband never. 'No chains are easy,' said madame de Maintenon, 'but those we wear for God.'

In publick the king concealed the inequality of his temper, while in private he indemnified himself for that painful restraint. Madame de Maintenon, as much mistress of her mind as of her countenance, endeavoured to dissipate these glooms by concerts of musick, and by the charms of those easy and sprightly conversations, she had been used to at the hôtel de Richelieu; but, tired of playing a part so uniform

form and restraining, from an excess of gaiety, she would fall into a profound sadness. 'What a punishment,' said she to the countess of Bolingbroke, 'to amuse a man, who is no longer to be amused!'

Eager to relieve or suspend her cares, she employed her leisure hours in forming the mind of a young negro, who had been given her by the marquis de Villette. She took pleasure in studying nature in this simple child, so cramped and so biased in us, who are born with prejudices. One day when she desired him to divert the queen of England; 'I cannot,' he replied, 'all these queens make me dull.'

The king having answered one of his questions, with some words that signified nothing, the little negro said to him, 'And thou also wilt be thought a fool, if thou speakest foolishly.' Observing madame de Maintenon one day extremely melancholy, he threw himself on his knees before her, and in a whisper said, 'Dost thou not know, that it is very easy to divert a king?' She was so struck with this hint, that she rose suddenly from her seat, and repeated it to monsieur Jolly de Fleuri, who was present, and whom, she was so absorbed in thought, she did not before perceive.

Some

Some report that her spirits being quite exhausted with the fatigue of amusing the king, she prevailed upon him to let her offer an apartment at Versailles to mademoiselle de l'Enclos : but this is a ridiculous tale ; a devotee would certainly never desire to associate a libertine in her cares. They add, that mademoiselle de l'Enclos replied, that she thought it was now too late to learn the art of dissimulation, or to bear the fatigue of continual restraint, which she had never experienced ; and all that could be obtained from her, was to be in the gallery of the chapel as the king passed by, who was curious to see once at least this wonder of his reign.

It is upon this story, that Voltaire has founded his dialogue between madame de Maintenon and mademoiselle de l'Enclos, which is not the less insipid because it is Voltaire's. In this dialogue, madame de Maintenon is made to propose to mademoiselle de l'Enclos, the bartering, in appearance at least, her prudery for the other's philosophy ; and all the rest is in the same spirit. However, it is certainly true, that the devotees made an attempt to convert mademoiselle de l'Enclos, who said to monsieur de Fontenelle, ' You
' know what advantage I have made of
' my

‘ my person, depend upon it I will sell my
‘ soul still better; the Jesuits and the
‘ Jansenists are disputing it.’

Madame de Maintenon was often made uneasy, by the king’s sudden sallies of ill humour. He would sometimes, after he had asked her advice on particular occasions, interrupt her harshly while she was speaking, with *why, madam, do you concern yourself in these affairs?* To-day the ministers would blame what the bishops had approved, to-morrow Lewis would impute the bad success of any enterprise to the advice which had prevailed with him to undertake it. His understanding, great as it was, and his extreme application, were not sufficient for that immediate inspection of all parts of the administration, which he had reserved to himself; and he was always apprehensive, that something of importance was concealed from him.

The confinement he had in madame de Maintenon brought him always back to her; although his nice notions of honour often made him reject her councils, as imputing weakness to his own judgment. The great difference between the piety of the king and madame de Maintenon, occasioned as great a difference in their sentiments: both were devout; but madame
de

de Maintenon had always been so, and Lewis was but a new convert. The former made devotion consist in the love and practice of virtue, and the latter, in avoiding ill; they were both scrupulous, with regard to the most innocent pleasures; the wife through the severity of her manners, the husband through ignorance, which necessarily produced a kind of indifference in each.

Denials arbitrarily given, often wounded that heart too exquisitely sensible, and too little soothed: the king hated her relations, and discovered this hatred in a very offensive manner. Madame de Maintenon having solicited him for a trifling favour for one of them, 'No,' replied the king with some bitterness, 'it is for Ja-nette.' The present madame d'Hauſſy, of the family of Penchrech in Brittany, whom madame de Maintenon rescued, while in the cradle, from the extremest poverty. These differences had no need of any explanation to terminate them; each generally gave way to the other: but tempers, however well suited, will often give and receive such little disquiets.

Madame de Maintenon had great sensibility of mind, but was always the yielding party; Lewis was capricious and dis-

trustful, but incapable of long resentment : in this particular very different from his father, in whose caskets were found memorandums of all the quarrels he had with his chaste mistresses.

The malice of the publick, though despised, could not be silent. Sometimes madame de Maintenon was represented between a cripple and a king, laughing at one, and snapping her fingers at the other ; sometimes Lewis was painted looking through madame de Maintenon's spectacles, and guided by a thread which was held by Pontchartrain. ' The king of France,' said William the third, ' is different from all other kings, for he chuses ministers of eighteen years of age, and mistresses of eighty.

A sonnet * which is written with too much spirit not to descend to posterity, and too severe not to make a deep and lasting wound, was sent to madame de Maintenon by the post, and the next day dispersed all over Paris. It was attributed to count Antony Hamilton, the most trifling, yet the most satirical of men, and who, in the last age, was the chief cause of wit's being hated, because he abused it most.

* See the pieces justificative.

The count de Grammont his brother-in-law, endeavoured to justify him. ‘ You know,’ said madame de Maintenon to him, ‘ that from my youth, it has been my ardent wish to die in obscurity.’ ‘ That is true,’ replied the count, ‘ but persons of wit like you and I, never die.’

Madame de Maintenon made no other use of this satire, than to place it by the panegyricks that were addressed to her every day: however, she trembled continually lest these pieces should reach the king, to whom they might give unfavourable impressions of her; although calumny, with which he had been often insulted, had taught him to render others that justice which he expected from them.

After viewing this picture, who would envy the condition of the great: however, we must not believe that the life of madame de Maintenon was only a series of cares. In the space of thirty years they occurred but too often; but although incessantly tormented by the extreme delicacy of her notions, and the sensibility of her own heart, she had joys, she had success, and she had pleasure, she had some happy days, and many which seemed to be happy by her own fortitude, or which became so by her virtue.

CHAPTER VII.

*Monsieur de Chamillard.*Sep. 25.
1699.

THE changes which happened in the ministry, deprived her of all her remaining freedom and ease, by engaging her in the affairs of state, the king being unable to sustain the burthen of them alone. The council was formed of her creatures; Pontchartrain, who owed his place to her, owed that of chancellor to her likewise, which became vacant by the death of Boucherat; she procured the place of secretary for the affairs of the marine, to be given to his son, and the superintendancy of the finances to Chamillard.

The ministry of the emperor Leopold was only worse composed. William III. who well knew the exhausted condition of France, and the weakness of those who were placed at the head of affairs, used to say, that for the future, we should neither know how to make peace or war; and that our cabinet would be no better than our army.

Chamillard,

Chamillard, who was first counsellor of the parliament, then master of requests, afterwards counsellor of state, and at length intrusted with the affairs of Saint-Cyr, declared, that he neither knew how to govern men, nor to administer the finances. *I will teach you*, said the king to him. This prince loved to be served by men, who owed their elevation only to his will, and Chamillard must owe his abilities to him likewise.

In governments subjected to the laws, where the murmurs of a free people, warn men in power of their faults, the minister cannot act like a fool with impunity, the evil is as quickly repaired as done; but in a country where a secretary of state is a petty king in his own department, where his clerks are tyrants in their office, and where they value themselves upon despising the murmurs of the discontented, all is lost if the minister be not the ablest man in the kingdom.

Chamillard was only known to madame de Maintenon by his address, in conciliating the differences of some private persons, and to the king by his skill at billiards. Monsieur d'Armagnac had presented him to Lewis, who was extremely fond

fond of that game, but had conceived a disgust at it, because he found no one capable of playing with him.

Chamillard, conscious of his incapacity for the post of prime minister, intreated madame de Maintenon to direct his steps, in a place which she knew so well. And here follows the principal heads of the instructions she gave him, after having long endeavoured to avoid the task.

‘ You have now, monsieur, an employment in which you may do great good. If it be true, that I have in any manner contributed to your advancement, the only acknowledgment I desire of you, is to make use of your authority for the relief of the people. I know that you will be led to this by your own inclination: and I know also, that it will be the surest way of recommending yourself to the king. His sentiments are very different from what they were formerly; and if you should now propose a new expence, however soothing to his pride, or even useful to the publick, he will be apprehensive that you would the next day propose a new impost.

‘ Those who are entrusted with the management of the finances, make no scruple
‘ ple

‘ ple of loading with new burdens the
‘ shoulders of the poor people; but these
‘ burdens they are exempted from them-
‘ selves, as likewise their relations and
‘ their friends; and the people know this,
‘ they observe it, and they complain of it.

‘ Hence arose that hatred to authority,
‘ which, in the time of cardinal Mazarin,
‘ produced such dreadful effects: this was
‘ not indeed the only cause of the rebel-
‘ lion, but it was the taxes which kindled
‘ the fire. Moderation on the contrary,
‘ will make the subjects solicitous for the
‘ good of the state: you know what joy
‘ Paris and the provinces discovered when
‘ the poll-tax was taken off, which had
‘ been borne without murmuring, because
‘ it had not been levied without cause.

‘ Persons in your place always alledge,
‘ that the misfortunes of the times, and
‘ the state of the king’s revenues, make it
‘ necessary that new imposts should be
‘ established, to provide for daily occasions
‘ and the payments of debts. Ever since
‘ I have been in the world (and that is
‘ many, very many years) I have continu-
‘ ally heard of these misfortunes of the
‘ times; and I believe, that by represent-
‘ ing them greater than they are, they
‘ have been made as great as we find them
‘ at present.

“ Instead of having recourse to a wise
“ and prudent economy, edicts have been
“ granted for levying taxes; the more
“ money there has been raised, the greater
“ has been the expence; and when any
“ garden was to be embellished, or any
“ square to be built, we heard no more
“ of the misfortunes of the times.

“ It is but too certain, that we live at
“ present in very deplorable times; and
“ that the kingdom is actually loaded with
“ debts. Hitherto no measures have been
“ taken for the payment of them: but if
“ by the continuance of the peace we are
“ enabled to enter seriously upon this work,
“ I believe we must do it by degrees. It
“ is the state which is indebted to the state;
“ it is the king, that is to say, the party who
“ has nothing, who is indebted to the richest
“ party. It is upon the people principally,
“ that is to say, upon the party that has but
“ bare necessaries, that we must levy the
“ money we have occasion for, to clear the
“ king.

“ You see, monsieur, that, in this great
“ work, you must proceed by slow and
“ imperceptible degrees; and that it is not
“ possible to find any sudden method of
“ paying the rich, without involving the
“ king

king in new debts, and without impoverishing the people. It is an old disease which requires slow and gentle remedies : the king is the father of France, and the comptroller-general of the finances is the physician.

Frugality will produce more money than new imposts : the king is disposed to this method ; he acknowledges that there are great retrenchments to be made ; he is convinced that the grandeur of a king of France cannot be lessened by the diminution of his officers ; that pensions are multiplied to excess ; and that it is better to give a little to his favourites, than to exact a great deal from his people.

Although these proposals should come from you, especially in the former pressing cases, they will not be ill received : the king is now ashamed of the magnificence that formerly prevailed in his court ; your predecessors durst not venture to advise the retrenchment of expences, which they said were necessary to support the dignity of the throne, because they were afraid of the murmurs of the courtiers, and despised the complaints of provinces, too distant to be well understood. The king is convinced of

‘ this truth ; and when he is told that no
‘ person complains, he is then most sure
‘ that complaints are made.

‘ You must make choice of a seasonable
‘ time for these new regulations of ex-
‘ pence ; the king will readily agree to
‘ them, when he finds that taxes are kept
‘ for the last resource : it is indeed certain,
‘ that his majesty is not willing to give
‘ cause for murmuring, to those who have
‘ the honour of being his domesticks, but
‘ he will not balance a moment between
‘ them and his people.

‘ You, monsieur, know enough of his
‘ temper, to be sensible that he does not
‘ love opposition ; but he will rather en-
‘ dure to be opposed a hundred times,
‘ than suffer the commission of one act of
‘ injustice. If you do not act openly with
‘ him, he will perceive it and be silent :
‘ he will not shew his resentment, because
‘ he is master of himself, but the less he
‘ shews it, the stronger it will be. Al-
‘ though monsieur de Louvois had de-
‘ ceived him but once, he would have
‘ been irrevocably ruined ; the king loves
‘ to be obeyed, but he loves to be dealt
‘ sincerely with.

‘ The

• The rectitude of his own mind,
• makes him very severe against the avarice
• of others; he is so far from permitting
• his ministers to enrich themselves by un-
• justifiable means, that he will not suffer
• them to amass wealth by the most law-
• ful ways: he expects that they shall be
• attentive only to his service, and in the
• end they will lose nothing by it. I have
• somewhere read, that a Spanish minister
• died without leaving money sufficient to
• defray the expences of his burial. In
• France such extreme disinterestedness is
• not required: however, in my opinion,
• a prime minister ought to consider him-
• self, and be considered by others, as
• wholly devoted to the publick good.

• You, monsieur, have very great sala-
• ries and great perquisites; I believe it
• will be very agreeable to the king, if
• you would not make use of the latter,
• and in times like these, it is very dif-
• ficult to have money pass through one's
• hands, without being soiled with the
• touch; and in your employment disin-
• terestedness is a virtue so much the
• greater, as it is practised with the most
• difficulty, on account of the frequent
• temptations, and the seldomest found.
• If you can submit to be poor, you will

‘ be adored by the poor, revered by
‘ the rich, and esteemed by the great.
‘ You know what was laid to the charge
‘ of monsieur P——,

‘ Your reputation, monsieur, is at pre-
‘ sent very high : I conjure you to support
‘ it. You will in vain regulate your ac-
‘ tions by the strictest honour, if your re-
‘ lations, your friends, and your servants
‘ are venal. The arts of bribery are not
‘ long concealed from the publick : there
‘ are too many persons who are interested
‘ in discovering them ; the blame will al-
‘ ways fall upon him who has the power
‘ of preventing and of punishing them.
‘ If he punishes them late, he will be sus-
‘ pected of having, contrary to his incli-
‘ nations, sacrificed his creatures to his
‘ own reputation : and this suspicion will
‘ be often just ; for, during five and twenty
‘ years that I have lived in the court, I
‘ have observed that men in power are
‘ generally what the publick, malignant
‘ as it is, imagine them to be,

‘ There is a manner of corruption less
‘ odious than the other, but equally sus-
‘ pected by the king. It is, in the facility
‘ with which ministers yield to recom-
‘ mendations ; the great sell their interest
‘ to their dependants ; and hence arise
‘ abuses.

‘ abuses of every kind, and shameful bargains for favours, which are at first concluded privately, and afterwards carried on with a most licentious freedom.

‘ This the king calls bargaining for the blood of his people ; and you will acquire his confidence, if you apply a remedy to this growing evil. To effect this, all that is necessary at first is to preserve your own integrity, and to act with firmness ; the ladies most openly countenance dependence. It would be well if you would resolve to be deaf to all these solicitations : I do not desire that you will except even mine ; once for all, I entreat that you will refuse me, when your compliance would be disadvantageous.

‘ I have given away a great many employments, and perhaps too many. I will never demand any new ones of you : and as for the old, I shall be very glad if they are continued to my friends ; and I shall be no less so if they are not, because I shall conclude you have filled these employments better than I had done. You will accustom the ladies and the courtiers to your refusals, by using no ceremony with me on such occasions ; and I will teach them how to receive such refusals.

‘ The

• The inequality of those assessments
• which are laid upon the clergy, has al-
• ways given great uneasiness to the king ;
• he will with pleasure see you labour to
• remove the complaints of the poor ec-
• clesiasticks, and to silence the railleries
• of libertines, who, that they may the
• more successfully attack religion, make
• use, as the saying is, *of arrows of every*
• *kind of wood.* This abuse may, without
• violent methods, be reformed at the ap-
• proaching assembly, by conferring with
• some of our bishops ; the archbishop of
• Paris will assist you, and he has great in-
• fluence upon the wisest part of his order.

• I think you ought neither to unite,
• or appear to be united with monsieur de
• Torcy or monsieur de Barbezeux. The
• king is not fond of divisions amongst his
• servants : but these strict connexions are
• always suspected by him. You will sel-
• dom have any occasion to consult these
• ministers : I would advise you to give
• them no umbrage, live with them with-
• out confidence, without dependance,
• without soliciting their friendship, or
• shunning their kindness.

• The advice of the duke de Beauvilliers
• cannot be disadvantageous to you. He
• has

‘ has great rectitude of mind ; he has an
‘ unfeigned affection for the state, and ab-
‘ hors all violent measures. Although the
‘ king expresses less friendship for him than
‘ usual, he still highly esteems him ; but
‘ the duke de Beauvilliers has very dange-
‘ rous friends.

‘ The publick have long complained of
‘ a kind of confederacy between the comp-
‘ troller-general and the farmers of the re-
‘ venue, to ruin the kingdom ; it is certain
‘ that the comptroller-general favours
‘ them too often, and that they engage
‘ him in false steps by the extraordinary
‘ supplies which they furnish him with on
‘ occasion. The farmers of the revenue
‘ must not be disobliged, since, in our pre-
‘ sent circumstances, they are a great re-
‘ source for the state ; but they ought not
‘ to have undue privileges, because they
‘ advance money.

‘ These men are not to be depended
‘ upon ; they are the dross of the nation ;
‘ their very virtues are interested ; and
‘ they are only happy by the publick ca-
‘ lamity ; they will always sell you their
‘ acknowledgments at a high rate ; they
‘ are devouring wolfs who would swallow
‘ up the whole kingdom, if it was aban-
‘ doned to their avarice. At Paris the

‘ magnificence of their living is greatly
‘ extolled, which circulates so much mo-
‘ ney among tradesmen; but in the pro-
‘ vinces their oppressions are justly com-
‘ plained of; it is therefore proper to have
‘ an eye upon their conduct, and to re-
‘ ceive any petitions that may be addressed
‘ to you against them.

‘ I say to you, monsieur, without order
‘ and without connexion, whatever comes
‘ into my mind, which I think may be
‘ useful to you and pleasing to the king.
‘ I shall not recommend to your notice the
‘ infamous traffick carried on with the
‘ warrants at the royal treasury. I have
‘ perceived in you an inclination to redress
‘ those grievances; it is shameful, to say
‘ no worse, that the poor only should be
‘ ill paid. By this practice the king is
‘ made a robber of those very persons to
‘ whom he is a benefactor.

‘ Monsieur de Rouellé and even mon-
‘ sieur Desmarets may possibly be useful to
‘ you. Ministers, who have a natural aver-
‘ sion to their successor, seldom place any
‘ confidence in a man who is worthy to
‘ fill their place: this jealousy of the abi-
‘ lities of another is very prejudicial to
‘ the king’s service. I am well convinced
‘ that

‘ that you will have only men of merit
‘ about you.

‘ When you first enter upon your office,
‘ it is necessary that you should see and
‘ hear every thing yourself; do not be
‘ apprehensive that the king will be of-
‘ fended with you for asking and following
‘ good advice; to perform your duty in its
‘ utmost extent, is the only thing that is of
‘ importance to you. Whether good be done
‘ by the motions of our own mind or the
‘ suggestions of another, it matters not,
‘ provided it be done.

‘ I have often heard monsieur Colbert
‘ say, that the French, if permitted, would
‘ change the rocks into gold. You have there-
‘ fore, monsieur, a great treasure in the
‘ industry of the nation: you will not
‘ want for able men who will point out
‘ to you the means of making an advan-
‘ tage of this industry; and the peace,
‘ which the king has lately concluded,
‘ will secure that plan of administration
‘ which you shall chuse to follow, from
‘ that fatal opposition your predecessors
‘ always found.

‘ This, monsieur, is all the advice that
‘ is proper for a woman to give, and per-
‘ haps more than you requested from me;
‘ your

‘ your repeated importunities first subdued
 ‘ my timidity, and my zeal for the king’s
 ‘ service has carried me farther than I in-
 ‘ tended.

‘ As to the title of *monseigneur*, it is my
 ‘ opinion that you ought not to insist upon it
 ‘ from any person; refuse it from persons
 ‘ of quality, but admit of it from the far-
 ‘ mers and all who are concerned in the
 ‘ revenue.’

No man had more need of these counsels than Chamillard: counsels which politicians will consider as trifles, but will be always necessary to ministers. However, no man profited less by them than he did; he augmented the imposts; he multiplied paper money; he stopped that circulation of specie and perishable commodities which is the life of the body politic; he had recourse to shifts and expedients which would have seemed astonishing in the most extravagant spendthrift. In his audiences, when exposed to all eyes, he endeavoured to conceal his incapacity by his presumption. A certain person complaining to him of the injustice he had been treated with, he insolently replied,
 ‘ Be gone; the king does not give his sub-
 ‘ jects an account of his actions, and I
 ‘ represent the king.’

He

He forbid the financiers to purchase any thing, and he sold all himself ; his daughters concluded these shameful bargains ; and foreign courts, of which we were masters by corruption, endeavoured to carry on the same traffick in our's. These ladies, who were publickly the brokers of the state, sold to the pope's nuncio, for four thousand francs, leave to carry fifteen thousand firelocks out of the kingdom, which the king had expressly forbidden. The pope shewed the letter of advice which he had received to the abbé du Poulignac, auditeur of the Rota, who had no answer to make to these words of the pope, ' Truly your master is very ill served.'

His ministry for some time glided on in a calm ; but, in proportion as his favour with the king increased, he acquired the vices of power. He was neither harsh nor cruel, he was only weak ; but all tyrants are so, and France was oppressed and almost ruined by the best man in the world*.

Barbezeux died suddenly ; his uncle the Jan. 5.
archbishop of Rheims received his last sighs, 1701.

* See his Eulogium in the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth.

and

and spoke to him often of his will, but very little of his conscience. When he saw him expire, he went into his closet, filled his pocket with jewels, looked over his papers, took one, and returning into the chamber where his nephew lay dead, ‘Parbleu,’ said he, ‘here is a pleasant thing written in Barbezeux’s hand, *In my thirty-third year I shall be seized with an illness, from which I shall not recover.*’ This minister, who inherited his father’s credulous belief in judicial astrology, often consulted father Alexis, a franciscan friar, who, upon the knowledge of his debauched life, had hazarded this prediction*.

His post was given to Chamillard, who, knowing by experience that the prince’s choice cannot give abilities, refused it with all the modest diffidence of a man who was worthy of it; but the king silenced all his scruples by saying, *I will assist you.*

Thus this man, who was wholly ignorant of the affairs of the army or of the finances, was placed at the head of both: employments for which the extreme application of Colbert and the great abilities of Louvois were scarce sufficient. But why, it will be asked, did the king unite them in

* The bishop of Agen’s MSS.

his

his person ? I answer for the most trifling reasons imaginable. He was apprehensive that if separated they would be exercised by two men envious of each other's abilities, and jealous of each other's power. He was accustomed to Chamillard ; he believed him laborious, and he knew him to be humble ; he hoped to form him for the ministry ; he flattered himself that by doing business with him alone, he should lessen the labour by one half ; he depended upon establishing between his generals and his ministers so much harmony as would put him in a condition to command his cabinet and his armies, without opposition, without uneasiness, and with that celerity he was so fond of.

Neither these great places, nor the lessons of the most magnanimous prince in the world, could elevate the soul of Chamillard ; he was born for obscurity, and he lived despised. No minister could shew less abilities than he, who being master of all the money and all the forces of the kingdom could never reach the authority of a prime minister. He plunged France into those misfortunes which I shall relate in order, after I have given an account of the death of some great persons, who made a considerable figure in the former part of these memoirs, but who have no concern in the ensuing. These
deaths,

deaths, which happened at different periods of time, I shall comprize in the following chapter, being persuaded that mere memoirs are not subjected to chronological order.

CHAPTER VIII.

The deaths of the duke of Orleans; of the count d' Aubigné; and of the marchioness de Montespan.

MAdame de Maintenon had undertaken to convert the duke of Orleans, and flattered herself with success. Father de la Bourdonnaye his confessor threatened to quit him, if he did not change his manner of life. This severity awakened his remorse; he deplored the irregularities of his own conduct, and repressed the vices of his son; he resolved to retire from court, to found hospitals, and to employ himself wholly in the care of his salvation: death surprised him in the midst of these schemes.

June 9. He had been troubled for some days with
1701. a bleeding in his nose; but concealed this disorder from his physicians, through his aversion

aversion to being bled in the arm; he went to Marli, and while he waited for the king's coming out from his council, he sat down by madame de Maintenon, who, observing him to be melancholy and pensive, asked him, 'If any thing troubled him?' 'Yes,' answered the prince with a sigh. 'May I know what it is?' she answered. 'This devil of a jubilee,' said the prince, 'has raised terrible reflections in my mind.' 'They must be cultivated,' resumed madame de Maintenon, 'they are the warnings of grace.' 'I have committed so many sins,' replied the prince, 'that, by my faith, I do not know how to repair them.' 'God is just,' said madame de Maintenon; 'but he is merciful.' Parbleu,' added the prince, 'if I was not married I would retire from court; one damns one's self there imperceptibly. 'It is not retirement that God requires of you,' said madame de Maintenon, 'it is your part to edify the world, not to bury yourself in a cloister; have you regulated your conscience?' 'Yes,' answered the prince, 'I have done my best; but do you think it is sufficient to sin no more?'

This conversation was interrupted by the king's coming out of his closet; they placed themselves at table; dinner was served,

served, when the duke of Orleans, being seized with a bleeding in the nose, alarmed all the company.

Fagon, whose long experience had given him a right to speak to princes with a salutary harshness, said to him, 'My lord, you are threatened with an apoplexy, and you ought to be bled instantly.' The king endeavoured to persuade his brother to submit to this operation, but not being able to prevail with him, he said, 'You will see what your obstinacy will cost us; we shall be wakened one night or other, to be told that you are dead.'

The duke of Orleans withdrew, upon pretence of going into the bath; but he went to Saint Cloud, where he supped with great gaiety. Towards the end of the repast, he desired madame de Ventadour to give him a glass of a certain liquor which the duke of Savoy had sent him. Madame de Ventadour, turning towards him to present the glass, saw his eyes roll convulsively; and, in the same instant, he fell back in his chair without sense or motion. Messengers were instantly dispatched to Marli; the king arrived, but the duke of Orleans was already dead.

He was sincerely lamented: the king loved him tenderly; their inclinations, although

although very different, had not produced that aversion between them which all the historians have suspected : this suspicion is founded upon the duke's being excluded from the council, and from the command of the army. He had, by his imprudence, rendered it dangerous to trust him with affairs of state ; and this the king made him sensible of. The duke of Orleans supping with him one night, shewed an eager impatience for a new fruit that was brought to the table, ' Take it,' said the king, being vexed at his having revealed a secret of importance, ' eat, for you are no more ' master of your appetite than of your ' tongue.'

This little quarrel occasioned some coolness in the behaviour of the two brothers to each other, which was perceived by the courtiers ; but it did not last long. The king was remarkably polite, yet what the author of the Age of Lewis the Fourteenth relates, of the contempt he shewed for those who were in the first employments of the court, is certainly true.

Lewis, at his return from hunting one day, desired his great coat might be taken off. The duke de **, who was in waiting, not being present, Blouin the king's valet de chambre, advanced respectfully to take it

off. 'Take it,' said the king, 'one valet will do as well as another.' All who were present looked upon one another with surprise. 'Very good,' said the malicious courtiers, 'the king would not have used that contemptuous expression, if his first gentleman of the bed-chamber had been a gentleman.'

Those who pretend to penetrate into the thoughts of princes, attribute to the king's envy, his leaving the duke of Orleans unemployed during the war. They say that Lewis, who in the year 1697 had laid siege to Cambray, and had given to his brother the command of the forces which invested Saint Omer, was so mortified at the complete victory which the duke gained over the prince of Orange, that he never mentioned that action to him; and appeared excessively grieved when the people cried, *Long live the king, and the duke of Orleans who has gained the battle.*

This story is sufficiently refuted by the known character of Lewis XIV. He was always generous, always capable of commanding his passions; envy could find no place in a mind exalted like his, though emulation might. It is highly probable, that the duke of Orleans was not willing to take upon himself the command of the army.

army. He loved glory, but he loved pleasure still better; and more than one victory was necessary to persuade the publick and even himself, that a man who dressed like a woman, was fit for the trade of heroes.

However that may be, the two brothers loved each other, and mutually endeavoured to please. The duke of Orleans was ever ready to flatter the king, and the king passed over his irregularities. In a conversation, when all reserve and ceremony was banished, the king asked him what people said of him? 'They say,' replied the duke, 'that you are not communicative enough.' 'And what,' added he, 'do they say of me?' 'That you are too communicative,' returned the king.

The duke of Chartres succeeded to all his father's estates, and rights prerogatives. The dutchess of Orleans was intreated to dismiss her maids of honour, which she did, and was attended only by her women. She was reconciled to the king, who had always behaved very coldly to her: her's was the only heart in the royal family which madame de Maintenon had not been able to gain.

The dutchess, who always resented the marriage that had been made for her son, affected more insolence than she really had. When she went to visit the dutchess of Burgundy in her first lying-in, 'I will not stay long with you,' said she to her, 'the perfumes I have about me, may be prejudicial to you.' The king was so offended at this sarcastick speech, apparently meditated, that he would have forbid her the court, if madame de Maintenon had not appeased him.

A few days afterwards the dutchess of Orleans, who had been informed of the good office madame de Maintenon had done her, went to visit her, and said, 'I am come to assure you, that I now love you as much as I have hitherto esteemed you; and this you will find no difficulty in believing, if you recall to remembrance, with what frankness I have formerly declared that I hated you.'

Notwithstanding the advances made by the princess to madame de Maintenon, their friendship went no further than respectful advice on the one side, and praises or thanks on the other. The dutchess of Orleans endeavoured to become a devotee, but she could not succeed in this character; she

she was never able to suppress her secret inclination for her first religion, which she did not abjure, till the very moment when she was conducted to the altar to be married to the duke of Orleans.

It was reported that she carried on a private correspondence with a Calvinist preacher; there was doubtless as little reason for this report, as for that which was propagated by Jurieu, of the friendship between Bayle and madame de Maintenon *. The dutchess in her old age, conformed to all these minute practices of

* Bayle, being accused of concerting with her the ruin of the protestant religion, thus answers in the preface to his Chimerical Cabal. ' Monsieur Bayle has searched all over Rotterdam, for that man who, when over his bottle, boasted that he had given him a letter from madame de Maintenon; he has not yet been able to discover who he is, but in the mean time, monsieur Bayle thinks it proper to declare that he is a false witness; for he has never, either directly or indirectly, neither in time of peace or in war, received any letter or message of any kind from that lady. It is very probable, that she does not know there are such persons as Bayle and Jurieu in the world; and doubtless if she should know that she has been mentioned in their quarrel, she would think the refugees either very foolish or very wicked, to suppose her so ready to write.'

piety, which she had formerly despised : when the senses are blunted, these little superstitions become necessary by the amusement they afford.

The count d'Aubigné had now reached that age, when the mind seeks in them its consolation and its pleasure. He retired into a community of laicks : this solitude suited with the unsociableness of his temper ; he had an apartment there, and divided his leisure between the duties of religion and the pleasures of life. He lived like an old sinner, who was willing to go to heaven as easy as possible.

The abbé Madot, who was educated at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice ; and the friend of the celebrated la Chetardie, was superior of this community, and acquired great power over the mind of the count d'Aubigné. Madame de Maintenon took upon herself the care of managing his estates and paying his debts. The bishop of Chartres, la Chetardie, and father Bourdaloue, prevailed upon the old man, by repeated importunity, to live upon ten thousand livres a year. D'Aubigné, who was now virtuous, because it was no longer in his power to sin, appeared a saint to the community, whose benefactor he was.

Madame

Madame de Maintenon intreated the abbé Madot to continue his cares: the director and the penitent became inseparable, and d'Aubigné at length performed those acts of religion, through inclination, which decency, and perhaps weakness of mind, obliged him to before.

He had for some months languished under an ill state of health, when he was persuaded to try the waters of Vichy, whither he was attended by the abbé Madot. There he was seized with his last illness: his friend gave him notice that he had but a few minutes to live. The count d'Aubigné received this sentence with as great calmness as if he had always lived well; he died full of faith, hope, and penitence. The abbé Madot, who was the depositary of his last sentiments, set out instantly for the court, to tell madame de Maintenon that she had now a brother in heaven; so that she learned at once all that could afflict her most sensibly, and all that could afford her the truest consolation. She entreated the king to give an abbey to the abbé Madot.

This ecclesiastick, who while he was poor shewed great indifference for riches, despised poverty as soon as he was rich.

He prevailed upon madame de Maintenon to procure for him the bishoprick of Tournai, vacant by the death of monsieur de Coëtlogon; and the king accordingly nominated him to that bishoprick, although father de la Chaise represented to his majesty, that the chapter, being composed of gentlemen, would with difficulty be induced to obey a man of mean birth.

Madot afterwards solicited for the bishoprick of Belley, and obtained it: he asked for another abbey, and it was given him; he demanded letters de cachet against his canons, and they also were granted him. Madame de Maintenon now hoped that the cravings of this insatiable man was satisfied, but every day she received new letters from Belley, in which she was solicited for new favours. She entered through gratitude into all the necessities of the holy bishop, but not without murmuring, that he made her pay so dear for her brother's salvation.

At length Madot aspired to a more considerable bishoprick; and to interest the compassion of madame de Maintenon in his suit, he represented to her, that the sharp air of the mountains of Belley was very prejudicial to his health, and that a tran-

flation into a gentler climate would re-establish it. Madame de Maintenon, who conceived by his looks that he was perfectly well, and who valued bishopricks for their being laborious, not for their revenues, thus answered him. ‘ You cannot live long at Belley, you say: well, monsieur, then learn to die there.’

This lesson the marchioness of Montespan had not yet been able to learn. It was her custom ever since she left the court to pass the winter at Paris, and the summer in Poitou, always ill where she was, always fancying that she would be well where she was not. When her conscience was not pressed with the remembrance of her sins, she was ready to hope that God would pardon her, and was cast in despair whenever they rose to her thoughts. Always tormented by her own remorse, which by some parsimonious alms she endeavoured to stifle; so haughty, that she disputed precedence with the princesses of Lorraine, as if the title of late mistress to the king could give her any rank; and so humble, that she expressed a kind of joy, when her domesticks failed in their respect to her.

Madame de Montespan, although removed from the court for more than twenty

ty years, yet still retained all the vices she had acquired there, luxury, caprice, distrust, and ambition: so dangerous it is to suffer our minds to take a bad bias. As soon as she might be ridiculed with impunity, La Bruyere painted her in his *Characters* as still adoring her beauty, contemplating with pleasure its precious remains, and at sixty years of age asking her physician why those wrinkles in her face, that stomach so weak, that peevishness of temper, and perpetual lassitude?

Either through vanity or restlessness of mind, she engaged in the cabal of the Jansenists, who compared her to the dutchess de Longueville, and celebrated her as the saint of their party. This sect has indeed always been famous for its choice of saints. The king was informed of it by Pontchartrain, which intirely effaced, from his heart, every sentiment of tenderness or esteem, if any yet remained there.

Madame de Montespan went every year to the baths of Bourbon; there it was that she sought health, and there she met with death. Having caused herself to be bled unseasonably, she was seized with a delirium, which was attended with other symptoms
that

that left the physicians no hopes of her recovery. An express was instantly dispatched to the marquis d' Antin to inform him of his mother's danger. In one of her intervals of sense, her women told her she was extremely ill; she exclaimed against them vehemently, and maintained to the priest, her physician, and her servants, that she was in good health.

The marquis d' Antin came post to Bourbon, and without alighting from his chaise, or making any enquiries concerning his mother, he demanded her casket; one of her women delivered it to him, but told him that madame de Montespan never trusted any person with the key of it, which she always carried about her. The marquis then went to her apartment, searched for the key in the bosom of his dying mother, emptied the casket, shut it, and went away, without giving any orders, or discovering either curiosity, surprise, compassion, or grief. A few hours afterwards madame de Montespan expired.

In her will she had ordered, that her bowels should be carried to the community of Saint-Joseph. The great heat of the weather made the smell of them so of-

fenfive, that the perfon who was employed to carry them, was not able to profecute his journey ; but, turning back, delivered them to the capuchins at Bourbon. The warden of the monastery, being almoft stifled with the fmell, threw them to the dogs. When it was known at court what had happened to the bowels of madame de Montespan, one of her old friends faid, laughing, ‘ And had ſhe any bowels ‘ then ? ’

Such was the end of this woman, famous for her beauty, her power, her irregularities, and her fall ; ſhe had a thouſand amiable qualities, and not one virtue ; a thouſand faults, and not one vice ; ſhe diſhonoured her husband, ſtained the glory of her lover, and enriched herſelf by the poverty of her fellow-citizens ; ſhe was regretted neither by the king, her children, nor the nation ; one half of her life was ſpent in grandeur, and the other half in contempt ; ſhe was rather aſhamed of her faults than penitent for them ; her reign had been ſo fatal to our fathers, that they looked upon it as a puniſhment from heaven upon France ; her death was diſtinguiſhed by ſo many ſhocking circumſtances, that it appeared to be one of thoſe ſtrokes, by which providence ſometimes

times condescends to justify its ways to weak minds, and confounds the incredulity of the wise, either by crushing whole nations at one blow, or by depriving publick sinners of the consolations of grace, and the sentiments of humanity.





BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Partition treaties, and wills.

THE king of Spain's declining health shewed his death to be near, and his death the approach of a general war. Lewis and William seemed to have no other design, but to maintain the peace. They were now become the arbitrators of Europe, and were no longer apprehensive of each other's power; however, their plan of politicks alarmed the house of Austria, which was upon the point of losing Spain entirely.

The

The first partition treaty gave this crown to the electoral prince of Bavaria, the grandson of Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. by his second queen. The dauphin, son of Maria Theresa, daughter of the same Philip by his first queen, and consequently the sole and lawful heir to the Spanish monarchy, was to have for his share the two Sicilies and the strongest towns in Italy. The archduke Charles was to have only the Milanese.

The king of Spain being informed that his monarchy was dismembering during his life, he answered, with these few words, 'All treaties are void, if God does not ratify them.' The queen his wife, enraged at his insensibility, used continual endeavours to excite his indignation against dispositions made without his consent; she never ceased to remind him of the marriage-contract, by which his eldest sister had renounced all claim to the Spanish monarchy: a renunciation void in the opinions of politicians, although civilians think differently; but always cited with advantage to a weak prince, as if he who exacted it was not the dupe of his own caution.

The queen secretly carried on intrigues in favour of the archduke, second son of the empress her sister; but her nephew's rights being so remote, that it was highly probable his pretensions would give umbrage to all Europe, and be displeasing to her husband, she had taken measures to secure by force what she could not hope to obtain by persuasion.

She had filled the palace with her creatures, the council with her ministers, and the troops with Germans. Her relations and friends were in possession of the chief employments in the kingdom; the government of the Low-Countries had been given to the elector of Bavaria; the government of Milan to the prince of Vaudemont, the ancient friend of William and the emperor; and the viceroyalty of Catalonia to the prince of Darmstadt, her cousin-german.

The old hatred of the Spaniards against the French was weakened by their aversion to the German tyranny. The grandees of the kingdom were divided; some were for giving the crown to the prince of Bavaria; others to a son of France; but all agreed in their abhorrence of dismembering their monarchy, and in their fears
that

that the two crowns of France and Spain would become the patrimony of one family.

They foresaw a cruel war from France, if her claims were set aside, and they concerted measures for preventing it. All entered with ardour into the different schemes which were formed ; many murmurs were raised against the queen ; but those persons who were loudest on this occasion were banished.

The marquis d'Harcourt, ambassador from France to Madrid, a man equally qualified for the cabinet or the field, took advantage of every favourable incident to produce a friendship between the two nations, which would be alike necessary and useful, whether the partition treaty remained in force, or was annulled by the testament of the Spanish king.

It was this nobleman, who, in contempt of this treaty, in defiance of the queen's cabals, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and authorised by circumstances decisive for a negotiator, first proposed to the Spaniards a son of the dauphin for successor to Charles II. and formed a party powerful enough to ballance the queen's.

But

But the king of Spain, being incessantly importuned by this princess, disconcerted all the marquis de Harcourt's schemes, by making a will, in which, to the prejudice of the dauphin's claims, he appointed the electoral prince of Bavaria his universal heir; and, in failure of this prince, the crown was to descend to the archduke, in prejudice to the claims of the duke of Orleans. By this will, the queen of Spain gave a great monarchy to her family; and secure of the regency during a minority, she flattered herself with the hopes of reigning some years longer.

The president Henault is the first historian who has mentioned this will, upon the authority of the marquis de Dangeau's memoirs, which furnished him with so many other facts. The author of a *memoir upon the succession to the crown of Spain*, which I attribute to Valincourt, adds, that the emperor durst not oppose it, because the prince of Bavaria was his grandson, and because the father of that prince had, by his courage and capacity in war, been very useful to the house of Austria. The taking of Belgrade and the battle of Neuhausel, were still remembered. But these are trifling conjectures: to believe that private persons are always determined by
in-

interested motives, is malignant and unjust, but to suppose that princes are influenced by friendship or gratitude, is weak and ridiculous. The court of Vienna was passive upon this occasion, because she found no power willing to support her.

The marquis d'Harcourt was informed of the purport of this will by cardinal Portocarrero, who did not think his fidelity to the Spanish monarchy violated, by betraying the secrets of its monarch. Guilville, one of his gentlemen, carried the news of it to Lewis, who resolved to recall his ambassador from Madrid, to shew the Spaniards that he was dissatisfied with their proceedings, and continued him there to support the French faction.

The peace, which by the mediation of England and Holland, had been concluded between the emperor and the Turks, broke for some months, the good intelligence between William and Lewis. William was charged with having sent home all the emperor's forces, when he might have detained them, if he had been willing that the partition treaty should take place.

The prince of Bavaria died at seven Feb. 6. years of age: no one lamented his death 1699.
but

but the queen of Spain. Valincourt, or the author of the memoir I have already quoted, imputes, without disguise, the sudden death of this young prince to the court of Vienna, at all times influenced by the detested maxims of Machiavel, and suspected of repairing by its poisoners, the errors of its ministry.

In the court of Spain cabals and intrigues were renewed. The queen was more powerful than ever, because she submitted to greater meannesses than ever to become so. She seemed to be entirely Spanish, in order to make Spain entirely German. The countess of Berlips governed her, and the marquis of Harrach governed the countess of Berlips.

Cardinal Portocarrero, haughty, inflexible, adored by the people, respected by the grandees, the protector of France, which he hated, ambitious of fame, and fond of power, being convinced that Austria would enslave his country, vigorously opposed the Austrian party, and retired to his bishoprick of Toledo. Madrid declared that she had lost her benefactor; and all the Spaniards, who had not been corrupted, or whom it was impossible to corrupt, turned their eyes upon Lewis the Fourteenth.

An-

Another partition treaty was signed by Mar. 13 France, England, and Holland. By this 1700. treaty, the dauphin had all that was given him by the former, and a large addition to it. Lorrain, which was taken from duke Leopold, who was indemnified for it by the cession of the Milanese, without consulting him upon the exchange. The archduke had all the rest of the Spanish monarchy, upon condition that the Spanish and imperial crowns should never be placed upon the same head.

The emperor was allowed three months to accept of this treaty; upon his refusal, the contracting powers were to chuse another king. When three great states were seen, notwithstanding their jealousies and animosity, to agree so easily in an affair, in which the security of the world was concerned, we cannot but confess with the duke of Orleans, that the perpetual peace of the abbé de Saint Peter is a chimera and a dream, for all but the nation of politicians.

This famous treaty, which was published in every court of Europe, was very differently received: few approved of it; the greater part thinking it impossible to be put in execution, looked upon it as the
spark

spark which was to kindle the war, not the bond of peace. Here William was suspected of laying France asleep by delusive negotiations; there Lewis the Fourteenth was charged with laying the same snares for William.

All agreed that France had a just right to complain of the king of Spain's will: but it was asked what right England and Holland had, to distribute what did not belong to them. Was it to preserve the peace of Europe? Europe was not consulted upon this treaty. Was it to maintain that equality of power, which hinders the strong from oppressing the weak? But what equilibrium was here! France, bounded by Lorrain, aggrandized by the Spanish frontiers, the sovereign of the mediterranean, by the acquisition of Naples: might she not incline the political balance as she pleased.

As soon as Lewis had signed the treaty, he was convinced that it would never take effect: however, to remove all umbrage from his allies, on account of the marquis d'Harcourt's intrigues at the court of Spain, he recalled him from Madrid. But to secure to himself a resource against their breach of faith, he left Belcourt there, whom Voltaire makes secretary

tary of the embassy, and whom the king appointed his envoy extraordinary. The queen and her partisans, not doubting but that he laboured only for the execution of the treaty, secretly endeavoured to hinder it.

However, the grandees of Spain, instigated by Monterey, expressed great resentment at the affront offered to their country; to the publick interest, private advantage was joined. They were apprehensive, that a foreign prince would bestow all the great posts and governments upon his relations and favourites, the only resource of many decayed families. There was more danger of suffering this injustice from the Germans than the French, because Austria was full of noblemen, whose poverty rendered all countries equal to them; whereas the great families in France seldom renounce their country.

They often assembled in private, being animated by Belcourt, and directed by cardinal Portocarrero, who, although he was never present at their consultations, presided there by his friends. Some recommended the duke of Anjou to the king of Spain, as a prince to whom the crown in justice belonged. Their arguments did not alter his resolution, but prepared his

his mind to receive those truths, which were afterwards enforced with so much energy. The queen's continual solicitations at last prevailed upon him to confirm his will, by which the crown was, in failure of the prince of Bavaria, to descend to the archduke. The emperor, who thought himself secure of the whole succession, deferred at first, and afterwards refused to accede to the partition treaty.

Three months were now elapsed, when Lewis, being informed of the disposition the Spaniards were in, received with great indifference, the propositions that were made him from London and the Hague, concerning the choice of another king. The negotiations were protracted, and William and Lewis seemed to leave Spain to the care of providence.

Mean time Charles the Second grew weaker every day, and drew towards his end. Cardinal Portocarrero knowing the power which religion has over men when dying, who in health have most contemned the laws of justice, resolved to make the king listen to its tremendous voice. Don Antonio de Ubilla secretary to the king, was entirely devoted to him: these two men drew up a will, which preserved the Spanish monarchy entire, and secured the peace

peace of Europe, by giving the crown not to the dauphin, but to his second son.

Cardinal Portocarrero, being sent for to Oct. 2. administer the last sacraments to the king, assuming a noble freedom, addressed him in this manner, ‘Sire, all your greatness is passed away; you are soon to appear before the tribunal of God, where you must give an account of your actions like one of the meanest of your subjects; does your conscience reproach you with any crime?’ The king, sighing, replied, ‘that he had always rendered justice to his people.’ ‘That is true,’ replied the cardinal; ‘but have you been just to your relations? the dauphin of France is your majesty’s next heir, yet, in defiance of all laws, divine and human, you appoint a successor in a more distant degree.’ ‘I would have preferred my nephew to the prince of Bavaria and the archduke,’ said the dying monarch, ‘if the king of France had not joined with a heretick to divide my spoils.’

‘Sire,’ replied cardinal Portocarrero, with all the authority of his function, ‘these resentments, though lawful, will not justify you before God; the dauphin is not answerable for the ambition or injustice of his father, and the faults of his father will not excuse yours; you are going to be ex-
VOL. IV. P ‘amined

‘ amined whether you have fulfilled your
‘ duty as a king : how will you be able to
‘ answer your almighty judge, when he
‘ asks you whether you have not disobeyed
‘ the first laws of nature, through compli-
‘ ance with deceitful and interested ad-
‘ vice ? whether you have not, by the dis-
‘ positions of your will, made it impossible
‘ to leave peace to your people ? Spain
‘ is upon the point of being torn with
‘ an obstinate, and perhaps civil war, Eu-
‘ rope of being consumed by the devouring
‘ ambition of two powerful rivals, and
‘ your majesty, the sole cause, will be eter-
‘ nally punished for these calamities, which
‘ it is easy to avoid, by making another
‘ will, which, by declaring one of your
‘ nephew’s sons king of Spain, will secure
‘ the publick tranquillity.’

It is alledged by some writers, that the cardinal, taking advantage of his disordered senses, only proposed to him some pious legacies, for the repose of his conscience ; and that the king, thinking he signed them, signed the will. But by contemporaries we are assured, that cardinal Portocarrero, finding the king greatly affected with what he had said to him, presented the will he had drawn up to the king ; and to render it more authentick, caused some of the grandees to enter the king’s chamber, that it might

might be signed in their presence. They also add, that the king earnestly recommended it to them to have it executed, and ordered them to sign it likewise. These *grandeės* were all in the French interest.

The secret, although confided to several persons, was nevertheless religiously kept. The queen was informed that the king had signed a paper; but they told her it was only a *codocil* full of pious charities, and she as piously believed it.

From that time cardinal Portocarrero, who was apprehensive of her great influence over the king, never suffered her to be a moment alone with him. Sometimes he prevailed upon her not to come into his chamber, under pretence that it might be prejudicial to her health, and, sometimes going in with her, gave the king absolution; however, in his delirium, these words often escaped him; ‘But the queen knows nothing of the matter.’ He was unwilling to be exposed to the arguments, the tears, threats, and exclamations with which he had been persecuted for so many years.

At length died this prince, who had been Nov. 1. dying ever since his birth. He was but little esteemed by his people, whose good he had never consulted, and but little re-

gretted by the grandees, who, from a change of government, hoped for a change of fortune. The queen only appeared inconsolable, because she was not afflicted.

Two hours after his death, the council met to open his will. The queen dried her tears, and already meditated the orders she should give in the beginning of her regency: the great officers of the crown swore to pay absolute obedience to the king's will. Cardinal Portocarrero endeavoured to suppress his joy, when don Antonio d'Ubilla entered the hall, and opened the will with all the usual ceremonies.

The testator, for the discharge of his conscience, declared that the renunciation of Maria Theresa his sister, and that of Anne his aunt, to the monarchy of Spain, being only required to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being united on the same head, these renunciations were in force with regard to the dauphin, but void with regard to the other lawful heirs: therefore since the dauphin and his eldest son the duke of Burgundy were to succeed to the crown of France, he appointed the duke of Anjou his general heir; and failing him, the duke of Berry, after them their posterity; then the archduke, and after him the duke of Savoy.

He

He settled a council of regency, composed of the queen, cardinal Portocarrero, the presidents of Castile and Arragon, the inquisitor-general, the count d'Aiguillar, as counsellor of state, and the count of Bena-venti, as grandee of Spain. The queen had but one voice, and, in case the votes were equal, the decisive one.

Every word, that related to these unexpected regulations, was like the stroke of a poignard to the disappointed queen: confused, dejected, and in despair, she durst not mention the former will, nor reproach cardinal Portocarrero with his treachery. She quitted the hall bathed in tears, and blessing aloud the memory of her husband, which doubtless she inwardly execrated.

The ingenious, the bold, but the partial author* of *The Political History of Lewis the Fourteenth*, pretends that the queen was not only let into the whole mystery; but also that she herself had advised the king to make this will, with a hope of rais-

* M. Maubert, author of the political Testament of cardinal Alberoni, so severely critised by monsieur Voltaire, and so highly esteemed, notwithstanding his censures.

ing enemies to France, and to deprive her of part of the succession, by offering the whole †. To contest facts unanimously acknowledged to be true, upon conjectures, founded upon the circumstances of those facts, is establishing the dreams of policy upon the ruins of history. If the queen of Spain had done so great a service to France, is it probable that the duke of Anjou would have sent her back to Bayonne? he would have rewarded her for the benefit; he would have forgot, or seemed ignorant of the motive.

† See in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* of Dr. Maty, a complete refutation of this tale, which appears again in the second page of the Political History with as little probability.

End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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